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Hittite Birth Rituals

Second Revised Edition

by Gary M. Beckman

1983

OTTO HARRASSOWITZ · WIESBADEN

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PREFACE

Scholarship is a cooperative enterprise, and it is a pleasure to acknowledge the assistance I have received from institutions and individuals in the preparation of this work.

Research for my 1977 Yale University Ph.D. dissertation, the basis of this book, was largely carried out utilizing the resources of the Marburger Boğazköy-Archiv, while revision was done with the aid of the files of the Hittite Dictionary Project of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. The compilers of these lexical collections, Prof. Heinrich Otten and Prof. Harry A. Hoffner, respectively, have not only made these materials available to me, but have also been my teachers, both in and outside of the classroom. It would not be possible to detail their many contributions to this volume, but I must mention specifically the generosity of Prof. Otten in allowing me to utilize unpublished material from the current series of Boğazköy excavations, most importantly 232/d, 1502/u (Text Q), 1265/v (Text R), 464/w (Text He), and Bo 77/94 (= KBo XXVII 67, Text U).

I would also like to thank the Akademie der Wissenschaften der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie, and the Vorderasiatisches Museum zu Berlin for permission to publish the fragments Bo 4861 (Text Fc), Bo 4876 (Text Hf), Bo 4951 (Text Ja), and VAT 6212 (Text Jc), as well as for photographs of these pieces. Prof. Horst Klengel has also most kindly collated Bo 551 (= KUB XLIV 4, Text L).

Other persons from whose criticism, discussion, and scholarship I have benefited include Prof. Warren Cowgill, Prof. Hans G. Güterbock, Prof. Erich Neu, Dr. Howard Berman, Dr. Irving Finkel, Dr. Carolyn Gould, Dr. Frank Starke, Dr. Egbert von Weiher, and my *Studiengenosse*, Dr. Harald Winkels. Prof. W.W. Hallo, Curator of the Yale Babylonian Collection, has kindly allowed me to quote NBC 11786.

Finally, I must thank heartily the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst for providing me with the opportunity to study from October 1975 through February 1977 at the Altorientalisches Seminar der Philipps-Universität in Marburg/Lahn.

ABBREVIATIONS

(In general these follow those given in HW² 13–33)

/a, /b	Excavation numbers of tablets and fragments excavated at Boğazköy in 1931 ff.
AAA	Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology–Liverpool.
ABoT	Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri, İstanbul 1948.
AF	Altorientalische Forschungen–Berlin.
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung–Berlin and Graz.
AHw	W. von Soden, Akkadisches Handwörterbuch, Wiesbaden 1958 ff.
Alp, Maşat 1978	S. Alp, “Maşat-Höyük'te Keşfedilen Çivi Yazılı Hitit Tabletleri,” VIII Türk Tarih Kongresi Bildirler Kitabı, I. Ciltinden ayırbaşım (Ankara 1978), 165–96.
AMT	R. Campbell Thompson, Assyrian Medical Texts, Oxford 1923.
Anatolia	Anatolia. Revue annuelle de l'Institut d'Archéologie de l'Université d'Ankara–Ankara.
Anatolica	Anatolica. Annuaire Internationale pour les civilisations de l'Asie antérieure; publié sous les auspices de l'Institut Historique et Archéologique Néerlandais à Istanbul–Leiden.
ANET ²	J.B. Pritchard, ed., Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament, 2nd edition, Princeton 1955.
AnSt	Anatolian Studies. Journal of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara–London.
AO	Der Alte Orient–Leipzig.
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des Alten Orients und des Alten Testaments. Verlag Butzon & Bercker–Kevelaer.
AOAT'S	Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Sonderreihe–Kevelaer.
Appu	The “Story of Appu,” cited after Siegelová, StBoT 14, 4–17.
ArOr	Archiv Orientalní–Prague.
AS	Assyriological Studies–Chicago.
AT	D. J. Wiseman, The Alalakh Tablets, London 1953.

BAM	F. Köcher, <i>Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen</i> , Berlin 1963 ff.
Belleten	Belleten. Revue publiée par la Société d'histoire turque/Türk Tarih Kurumu—Ankara.
Biblica	Commentarii periodici Pontificii Instituti Biblici—Rome.
Biggs, ŠA.ZI.GA	R.D. Biggs, ŠA.ZI.GA: Ancient Mesopotamian Potency Incantations, TCS II, Locust Valley, N.Y., 1967.
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis—Leiden.
Bo	Registration numbers of tablets and fragments excavated at Boğazköy before 1931.
Boğ-Ḫatt IX	K. Bittel et al., <i>Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazılıkaya, Boğazköy-Ḫattuša IX</i> , Berlin 1975.
BoTU	E. Forrer, <i>Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift (WVDOG 41/42)</i> —Leipzig 1922, 1926.
von Brandenstein, Bildbeschr	C.-G. von Brandenstein, <i>Hethitische Götter nach Bildbeschreibungen in Keilschrifttexten (MVAeG 46.2)</i> —Leipzig 1943.
BSL	Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris—Paris.
Bush (1964)	F.W. Bush, <i>A Grammar of the Hurrian Language</i> (Dissertation Brandeis University)—University Microfilms, Ann Arbor 1964/65.
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary</i> —Chicago—Glückstadt 1956 ff.
CAH ³	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i> . 3rd edition of Volumes I & II—Cambridge 1970—75.
Carruba, Part	O. Carruba, <i>Die satzeinleitenden Partikeln in den indogermanischen Sprachen Anatoliens (Incunabula Graeca XXXII)</i> —Rome 1969.
CHD	H.G. Güterbock and H.A. Hoffner, eds., <i>The Hittite Dictionary</i> —Chicago 1980 ff.
Cor.ling	<i>Corolla linguistica</i> ; Fs F. Sommer—Wiesbaden 1955.
CTH	<i>Designation of compositions after Laroche, Cat²</i> .
Deimel, ŠL	A. Deimel, <i>Šumerisches Lexikon</i> —Rome 1925—50.
del Monte, RG 6	G.F. del Monte (and J. Tischler), <i>Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes</i> , Bd. 6, <i>Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte</i> —Wiesbaden 1978.
DLL	see Laroche, DLL.
Dressler, StudverbPlur	W. Dressler, <i>Studien zur verbalen Pluralität (SÖAW 259.1)</i> —Vienna 1968.
Edel, Ärzte	E. Edel, <i>Ägyptische Ärzte und ägyptische Medizin am hethitischen Königshof, Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vortrag 6205—Opladen 1976.</i>

- FHG Fragments hittites de Genève (Laroche, RA 45, 1951, 131–38, 184–94; 46, 1952, 52–50.)
- Friedrich, HE I², II² J. Friedrich, Hethitisches Elementarbuch I, II, 2nd edition–Heidelberg, 1960, 1967.
- , HG J. Friedrich, Die hethitischen Gesetze (Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui 7)–Leiden 1959.
- , HW¹ Hethitisches Wörterbuch–Heidelberg 1952–54.
- , HW¹, 1., 2., 3. Erg. Hethitisches Wörterbuch, 1.–3. Ergänzungsheft–Heidelberg 1957, 1961, 1966.
- Fs Festschrift
- FsBöhl Symbolae biblicae et mesopotamicae Francisco Mario Theodoro de Liagre Böhl dedicatae–Leiden 1973.
- FsFinkelstein Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein–Hamden, Ct. 1977.
- FsFriedrich Festschrift J. Friedrich zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet–Heidelberg 1959.
- FsGüterbock Anatolian Studies presented to Hans Gustav Güterbock on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday–Istanbul 1974.
- FsKoschaker Symbolae ad iura Orientis Antiqui pertinentes Paulo Koschaker dedicatae–Leiden 1939.
- FsKraus zikir šumim, Assyriological Studies Presented to F.R. Kraus on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday–Leiden 1982.
- FsLaroche Florilegium Anatolicum: Mélanges offerts à Emmanuel Laroche–Paris 1979.
- FsOtten Festschrift Heinrich Otten–Wiesbaden 1973.
- FuF Forschungen und Fortschritte–Berlin.
- Garelli, AC P. Garelli, Les Assyriens en Cappadoce–Paris 1963.
- Gelb, HS I. J. Gelb, Hurrians and Subarians–Chicago 1944.
- Goetze, AM A. Goetze, Die Annalen des Muršiliš (MVAeG 38)–Leipzig 1933.
- , Hatt A. Goetze, Hattušiliš. Der Bericht über seine Thronbesteigung neben den Paralleltexten (MVAeG 29.3)–Leipzig 1925.
- , Kleinasien² A. Goetze, Kleinasien (Handbuch der Orientalistik. Neue Bearbeitung Abt. III, T. 1, Bd. 3), 2nd edition–Munich 1957.
- , Madd A. Goetze, Madduwattaš (MVAeG 32.1)–Leipzig 1928.
- , NBr A. Goetze, Neue Bruchstücke zum großen Text des Hattušiliš und den Paralleltexten (MVAeG 34.2)–Leipzig 1930.

- , Tunn A. Goetze in cooperation with E. Sturtevant, *The Hittite Ritual of Tunnawi*–New Haven 1938.
- Goetze/Pedersen, MS A. Goetze/H. Pedersen, *Muršilis Sprachlähmung* (Danske Vid.Selsk. XXI.1)–Copenhagen 1934.
- Gordon, UgTb C. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (AnOr 38) – Rome 1965.
- GsKretschmer MNHMHs XAPIN. Gedenkschrift P. Kretschmer–Vienna 1956.
- Gurney, Aspects O.R. Gurney, *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion*, Schweich Lectures 1976–Oxford 1977.
- Haas, KN V. Haas, *Der Kult von Nerik* (StPohl 4)–Rome 1970.
- Haas/Thiel AOAT 31 V. Haas/H. J. Thiel, *Die Beschwörungsrituale der Allai-
nurah(h)i und verwandte Texte* (Hurritologische Studien II)–Kevelaer 1978.
- Haas/Wilhelm, AOATs 3 V. Haas/G. Wilhelm, *Hurritische und luwische Riten aus
Kizzuwatna*–Kevelaer 1974.
- HAB see Sommer/Falkenstein, HAB.
- H&I E. Neu and W. Meid, eds., *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch. Vergleichende Studien zur historischen Grammatik und zur dialektgeographischen Stellung der indogermanischen Sprachgruppe Altkeleasien* (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 25)–Innsbruck 1979.
- Hatt The “Apology of Hattušili III,” cited after Goetze, Hatt.
- Hawkins/Morpurgo-Davies/ J.D. Hawkins, A. Morpurgo-Davies, and G. Neumann,
Neumann, Hittite Hittite Hieroglyphics and Luwian: New Evidence for the
Hieroglyphics Connection (Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Jhrg. 1973, 6)–Göttingen 1974.
- HbOr see Kammenhuber, HbOr.
- HE I² see Friedrich, HE I².
- Hoffner, AlHeth H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum*–New Haven 1974.
- , EHGI H. A. Hoffner, *An English-Hittite Glossary* (= RHA 80)–Paris 1967.
- Houwink ten Cate, Ph.H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *The Records of the Early
Records Hittite Empire* (c. 1450–1380 B.C.) PIHANSt 26–Leiden 1970.
- HSM Registration numbers of the Harvard Semitic Museum.
- HT Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character from Tablets in the British Museum–London 1920.
- HW¹ see Friedrich, HW¹.
- HW² see Kammenhuber, HW².

IBoT	İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri(nden Seçme Metinler) I–III–İstanbul 1944, 1947, 1954.
IF	Indogermanische Forschungen–Straßburg and Berlin.
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society–New Haven.
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature–Philadelphia.
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies–Cambridge, Mass.
JEOL	Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap “Ex Oriente Lux”–Leiden.
JKF	Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung–Heidelberg.
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies–Chicago.
Josephson, FSP	F. Josephson, The Function of Sentence Particles in Old and Middle Hittite (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Indoeuropea Upsaliensia)–Uppsala 1972.
Kadmos	Kadmos. Zeitschrift für vor- und frühgriechische Epigraphik–Berlin.
Kammenhuber, Arier	A. Kammenhuber, Die Arier im Vorderen Orient–Heidelberg 1968.
–, HbOr	Hethitisch, Palaisch, Luwisch und Hieroglyphenluwisch (HbOr 1.Abt. II. Bd. 1. und 2.Abschn., asiatische Sprachen, 119–357)–Leiden 1969.
–, HW ²	Hethitisches Wörterbuch, 2nd edition, Heidelberg 1975 ff.
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi–Leipzig 1916–23, Berlin 1954 ff.
KIF	Kleinasiatische Forschungen–Weimar (1927–)30.
Koehler/Baumgartner, Lexicon	L. Koehler/W. Baumgartner, Lexicon in veteris testamenti libros–Leiden 1958.
Kratylos	Kratylos. Kritisches Berichts- und Rezensionsorgan für Indogermanische und Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft–Wiesbaden.
Kronasser, SchwGotth	H. Kronasser, Die Umsiedelung der schwarzen Gottheit; das hethitische Ritual KUB XXIX 4 (des Ulippi) (SÖAW, Phil.-hist. Kl. 241.3)–Vienna 1963.
KUB	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi–Berlin 1921ff. (often cited only by volume no.)
KZ	Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung, begründet von A. Kuhn–Berlin and Göttingen.
Labat, calendrier	R. Labat, Un calendrier des travaux des signes et des mois (séries <i>iqqur ipuš</i>).–Paris 1965.

Lambert, BWL	W. G. Lambert, <i>Babylonian Wisdom Literature</i> —Oxford 1967.
Lambert/Millard, Atrahasis	W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard, <i>Atrahasis: The Babylonian Story of the Flood</i> —Oxford 1969.
Laroche, Cat ²	E. Laroche, <i>Catalogue des textes hittites</i> —Paris 1971.
—, DLL	E. Laroche, <i>Dictionnaire de la langue louvite</i> —Paris 1959.
—, GLH	E. Laroche, <i>Glossaire de la langue hourrite</i> (= RHA XXXIV, XXXV)—Paris, 1976–77.
—, NH	E. Laroche, <i>Les noms des Hittites</i> —Paris 1966.
—, Rech	E. Laroche, <i>Recherches sur les noms des dieux hittites</i> (= RHA 46)—Paris 1947.
Lebrun, Hymnes et prières	R. Lebrun, <i>Hymnes et prières hittites</i> —Louvain-la-Neuve 1980.
—, Samuha	R. Lebrun, <i>Samuha, foyer religieux de l'empire hittite</i> —Louvain-la-Neuve 1976.
Lg	Language. <i>Journal of the Linguistic Society of America</i> —Baltimore.
MAOG	Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft—Leipzig.
MDOG	Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin—Berlin.
MélPedersen	Mélanges Linguistiques offerts à M. Holger Pedersen—Copenhagen 1937.
Meriggi, HhGl	P. Meriggi, <i>Hieroglyphisch-hethitisches Glossar</i> —Wiesbaden 1962.
MIO	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung—Berlin.
MSL	B. Landsberger et al., <i>Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon</i> —Rome 1937 ff.
MSS	Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft—Munich.
M _{st}	Registration numbers of tablets and fragments found at Maşat-Höyük.
MVAeG	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft—Leipzig.
NBC	Registration numbers of the Nies Babylonian Collection, Yale University.
Neu, "Lokativ"	E. Neu, <i>Studien zum endungslosen "Lokativ" des Hethitischen</i> (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, Vorträge und Kleinere Schriften 23)—Innsbruck 1980.
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung—Berlin.
Oppenheim, Dreams	A. L. Oppenheim, <i>The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East</i> (TAPS 46.3)—Philadelphia 1956.

Or	Orientalia (Nova Series)—Rome.
OrAnt	Oriens Antiquus. Revista del Centro per l'Antichità e la Storia dell'Arte del Vicino Oriente—Rome.
Oriens	Oriens. Zeitschrift der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Orientforschung—Leiden.
Otten, histQuellen	H. Otten, Die hethitischen historischen Quellen und die altorientalische Chronologie (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abh. Geistes- u. Sozialw. Kl. 1968:3)—Wiesbaden 1968.
Otten, HTR	H. Otten, Hethitische Totenrituale—Berlin 1958.
—, LTU	H. Otten, Luvische Texte in Umschrift—Berlin 1953.
—, Luv	H. Otten, Zur grammatikalischen und lexikalischen Bestimmung des Luvischen—Berlin 1953.
—, Puduḫepa	H. Otten, Puduḫepa: Eine hethitische Königin in ihren Textzeugnissen (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abh. Geistes- u. Sozialw. Kl. 1975:1)—Wiesbaden, 1975.
—, ÜberlTM	H. Otten, Die Überlieferungen des Telipinu-Mythus (MVAeG 46.1)—Leipzig 1942.
Popko, Kultobjekte	M. Popko, Kultobjekte in der hethitischen Religion (Dissertation Univ. Varsoviensis)—Warsaw 1978.
RA	Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie orientale—Paris.
RHA	Revue hittite et asianique—Paris. (cited by either vol. [Roman numerals] or fascicle [Arabic numerals].)
RHR	Revue de l'histoire des religions—Paris.
RIA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie—Berlin 1928 ff.
RS	Registration numbers of tablets and fragments found at Ras Shamra.
SBo II	H. G. Güterbock, Siegel aus Boğazköy II (AfO Beiheft 7)—Berlin 1942.
von Schuler, HDA	E. von Schuler, Hethitische Dienstanweisungen für höhere Hof- und Staatsbeamte (AfO Beiheft 10)—Graz 1957.
—, Kašk	E. von Schuler, Die Kaškäer. Ein Beitrag zur Ethnographie des alten Kleinasien—Berlin 1965.
SMEA	Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici—Rome.
Sommer/Ehelolf, Pap	F. Sommer/H. Ehelolf, Das hethitische Ritual des Papanikri von Komana (BoSt 10)—Leipzig 1924.
Sommer/Falkenstein, HAB	F. Sommer/A. Falkenstein, Die hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Ḫattušili I (ABAW, Phil.-hist. Kl. nf 16)—Munich 1938.

Sprache	Die Sprache. Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft–Vienne/Wiesbaden.
StBoT	Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten–Wiesbaden 1965 ff.
Sturtevant/Bechtel, Chrest	E. Sturtevant/G. Bechtel, A Hittite Chrestomathy–Philadelphia 1935.
Tel Aviv	Tel Aviv. Journal of the Tel Aviv University Institute of Archaeology–Tel Aviv.
THeth	Texte der Hethiter–Heidelberg, 1971 ff.
Tischler, HEG	J. Tischler, Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar–Innsbruck 1977 ff.
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen–Kevelaer.
Ugar	Ugaritica III, V (Mission de Ras Shamra VIII, XVI)–Paris 1956 ff.
Ullik	The “Song of Ullikummi,” cited after Güterbock, JCS 5, 1951, 135–61, and 6, 1952, 8–42.
Ungnad/Matouš, Grammatik	A. Ungnad, Grammatik des Akkadischen, neubearbeitet von L. Matouš, 5th edition–Munich 1969.
VAT	Registration numbers of the Vorderasiatischen Abteilung der Staatlichen Museen in Berlin.
VBoT	A. Goetze, Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte–Marburg 1930.
WbMyth	H. W. Haussig, ed., Wörterbuch der Mythologie–Stuttgart (1962–)1965 ff.
Winkels, Diss	H. Winkels, Das zweite Pestgebet des Muršili–KUB XIV 8 und Duplikate. Eine methodologische Untersuchung zur Datierung hethitischer Texte des 14. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. (Dissertation Universität Hamburg 1979).
WO	Die Welt des Orients–Göttingen.
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft–Leipzig and Berlin.
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes–Vienna.
YOS	Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts–New Haven.
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie (und Vorderasiatische Archäologie)–Leipzig and Berlin.
ZAW	Zeitschrift für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft–Berlin.
ZDMGSuppl	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Supplementa–Wiesbaden.

Zuntz, Scongiuri	L. Zuntz, <i>Un testo ittito di scongiuri</i> (Atti Rist Ven 96.2)—Venice 1937.
XVII ^e RAI	Actes de la XVII ^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Brussels 1969—Ham.Sur-Heure 1970.
XIX ^e RAI	Actes de la XIX ^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Paris 1971—Paris 1974.
XX ^e RAI	Actes de la XX ^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden 1972—Leiden 1975.
XXIV ^e RAI	Actes de la XXIV ^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Paris 1977 (= RHA XXXVI)—Paris 1978.

I. INTRODUCTION

A. General

Human reproduction in its progressive stages—conception, pregnancy, and childbirth—finds frequent mention in Hittite texts of the most varied genre, attesting to the natural concern of the Hittites for the perpetuation of their society. This concern is visible on two levels. The first of these is the societal (or perhaps better, the “cosmic”) level. In the Hittite view, humans and their activities were integrally bound up with the rest of the natural order. The proper functioning of human fertility was an indispensable element in the existence of this order.¹

In the myths of the “Vanishing God” type, in which the disappearance of an important deity brings nature temporarily to a standstill, the failure of human beings to reproduce is mentioned among the characteristics of this sterile period. For example, we read in KUB XVII 10 I 13'–17' that as a consequence of the departure of Telepinu

barley (and) wheat no longer thrive. Cattle,
sheep (and) human beings no longer conceive,
and those who are (already) pregnant do not
give birth in this time.

The trees have dried up, and buds do not
come forth.²

Later, the return of Telepinu (IV 20ff.) corrects these unfortunate conditions.

1 A passage from one of the “Plague Prayers” of Muršili II, KUB XXIV 3 II 3'–16' and duplicates, indicates that the Hittite gods were held to be quite literally dependent on the activities of humankind. Here the gods are warned that as a consequence of the raging of a plague which they had allowed, agricultural and culinary workers are dying off and the continuity of temple service therefore threatened. (For a translation, see Goetze, ANET² 396.) Thus the maintenance of a proper level of population of humans was of vital importance for the divine world.

2 13'. ... *nu nam-ma*

14'. *ḫal-ki-iš ZIZ-tar Ū-UL ma-a-i nu-za nam-ma GUD^{ḫI.A} UDU^{ḫI.A} DUMU.
LÚ.UL^{LU} MEŠ Ū-UL*

The second level of concern with reproduction for the Hittite was personal. Most pressingly, each person needed offspring who would provide for his material needs when he was no longer capable of doing so himself, that is, when he had grown old, and even more importantly, after he had died. As in Babylonia,³ the deceased were thought to require food and drink offerings from the living.⁴ While we possess relatively detailed information concerning the posthumous cult only for members of the royal family,⁵ it seems that some offering was due to all of the dead.

But beyond material considerations, it was clearly a major part of each adult Hittite's role to produce offspring in the interest of the continuation of his society. The condition of one who failed to meet this societal obligation is best illustrated by the "Story of Appu."⁶ Although Appu is the most wealthy man in the town of Šudul, counting silver, gold, and lapis-lazuli among his treasures, he is nonetheless unhappy, for he is childless. We read:

And he lacks nothing; only one thing does he
lack—he has neither a son nor a daughter.
(When) the elders of Šudul sit before him to
eat, and this one gives to (his) son bread and
meat, and [that] one gives something to (his)
son to drink, Appu has no-one to whom to give
bread. (I 15–217)

Obviously Appu is socially disgraced, and furthermore he is subjected to the taunts of his wife: "You have never taken (me correctly)! Have you taken (me

15'. *ar-ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi ar-ma-u-wa-an-te-ša ku-i-eš nu-za a-pi-ya ʾU-UL ḫa-aš-ša-an-zi*

16'. ... GiŠ^{H1A}-ru ḫa-a-az-ta' na-aš-ta pār-aš-du-uš ʾU-UL

17'. *ú-e-iz-zi* ...

For a direct connection of the "Vanishing God" motif to human reproduction, see our Text F.

3 See Finkelstein, JCS 20, 1966, 115–16, for the Mesopotamian *kispu*-offering.

4 On the cult of the dead among the Hittites, see Haas and Wäfler, UF 9, 1977, 113–15, and Archi, AF 6, 1979, 81–94.

5 See Otten, HTR 110ff.

6 CTH 360. Text reconstructed from available duplicates and translated by Siegelová, StBoT 14, 1–17. See also Grottanelli, XXIV^e RAI 49–57.

7 For transliteration, see StBoT 14, 4.

correctly) now?,"⁸ she complains one night while they lie together in bed. And even worse for Appu's self-esteem, his wife has begun to grumble to the household slaves about his sexual failures.⁹ No wonder he answers her words testily: "You are (only) [a wom]an of the usual female sort and (consequently) don't know anything!"¹⁰ Childlessness, then, was considered such an evil that it offset even the pleasure to be derived from great riches.¹¹

In short, childlessness was a curse, and on occasion the threat of this condition is actually employed in curse formulae. For example, in the "First Military Oath" (CTH 427.A), in which troop commanders swear fealty to the royal house, those involved perform a ritual destruction of malt and then bind themselves to the condition that

whoever should transgress these oaths by under-
taking evil against the king (and) queen (or)
against the royal princes—let the oaths of the
gods on that account likewise¹² destroy his
future! Let his wives¹³ [b]ear [n]either male
nor female children! (KBo VI 34 II 34–39¹⁴)

And in a treaty concluded with the Kaškaeans we encounter the passage:

And if you transgress the oaths, then let your
cattle, your sheep (and) your human beings not

8 StBoT 14, 6 (I 33–34):

[Ú-]UL-wa ku-uš-ša-an-qa kat-ta e-ip-ta
[nu-]wa ki-nu-un kat-ta e-ip-ta.

katta ep- is certainly an expression of dynamic sexual performance on the part of the male—see von Brandenstein apud Friedrich, ZA 49, 1950, 244, and compare *katta šeš-*, "jem. beschlafen" (HW¹ 191). Colloquial English "to take (sexually)" seems to render the nuance well here.

9 See the "Story of Appu" I 27–30.

10 See the "Story of Appu" I 36–37:

[SAL-]an-za-wa-za SAL-mi-li-ya-az zi-ik
[nu-]wa Ú-UL ku-it-ki ša-ak-ti.

11 There is no passage in Hittite literature which deals with the plight of a barren woman. However, we may assume that in Hittite society the lot of a woman who failed to produce children was comparable to that of the barren woman in the Old Testament—cf. the situation of Hannah in I Samuel 1.

12 That is, as the malt had been destroyed.

13 II 38 reads DAM^{MEŠ}-ŠU, but note that the verb in II 39—[b(a-a)]ši—is singular. See Oettinger, StBoT 22, 35–36, for a discussion of the problems involved here.

14 For a transliteration, see StBoT 22, 10.

give b[ir]th)! And may the oath-gods devour your
children even in your hearts (i. e., in the womb¹⁵)!
(KBo VIII 35 II 22–24¹⁶)

But more commonly the situation was reversed. Progeny are among the most sought-after blessings in the Hittite ritual texts. Here I quote just two of the many available illustrative passages. In KUB XV 34, the gods are summoned and exhorted to bless the royal couple:

And provide the king (and) queen with life,
health, long y[ears] (and) children: male
children (and) female children, to the first
and second generations¹⁷—(and) for the male
(offspring) manliness (and) valor, (and) for
the female (offspring) womanliness (and)
motherhood (provide)! (II 17–19¹⁸)

And in XXIX 1 a ritual action is carried out for the king and queen¹⁹ at a sacred hearth:

And they kneel down on the hearth (saying):
“May male children (and) female children—
to the first and second generations—be
numerous!” And the hearth says: “That’s
fine with me!” (IV 1–3²⁰)

15 See von Schuler, Kašk 115 f. It seems likely that *ker* is employed here metaphorically in place of *šarḫuwant-*, “womb.”

16 22. *nu-kán ma-a-an li-in-ga-[a-u]š šar-ra-ad-du-ma nu-za* GUD^{U1.A}.KU-NU
UDU^{U1.A}.KU-NU

23. *an-du-uḫ-še-eš li-e ḫa-aš-[ša-an-z]i nu-uš-[m]a¹-aš-kán NI-IŠ DINGIR^{MEŠ}*
DUMU^{U1.A}.KU-NU

24. *an-da-an kar-di-iš-mi-pát [a]z-zi-ik-kán-du*

17 For this translation of *ḫašša- ḫanzašša-*, see H. C. Melchert, RHA XXXI, 1973, 57–70.

18 17. *nu kqt-tq tar-na-at-ten A-NA LUGAL SAL.LUGAL TI-tar ḫa-ad-du-la-q-tar*
MU^{U1.A} GÍD.DA

18. DUMU¹-la-tar DUMU.NITA^{MEŠ} DUMU.SAL^{MEŠ} *ḫa-a-aš-šu-uš ḫa-an-za-aš-šu-*
uš LÚ-ni LÚ-na-tar

19. *tqr-ḫu-i-la-tar SAL-ni SAL-na-a-tar an-ni-tal-wa-a-tar*

19 Note III 52: LUGAL-*uš-ša*[-].

20 1. *na-at-ša-an ḫa-aš-ši-i ḫa-li-iḫ-li-ya-an-da-a-ri*

2. *nu DUMU.NITA^{MEŠ} DUMU.SAL^{MEŠ} ḫa-aš-še-eš ḫa-an-za-aš-še-eš ma-ak-ki-eš-*
šq-an-du

3. GUNNI-ma *te-iz-zi a-pa-at-wa-mu a-aš-šu*

Having thus outlined the importance of the phenomenon of human reproduction for the Hittites, I now proceed with a survey of occurrences of this theme in the various texts found in the Hittite archives.

B. Birth in Hittite Texts

1. Birth in Mythological Texts and *Märchen*

We may begin our survey with this group of texts because, outside of the birth rituals themselves, it is this genre which provides us with the fullest documentation concerning birth among the Hittites. In keeping with the oft-cited remarks of Güterbock²¹ on the relative simplicity of the native Anatolian myths *vis à vis* mythology of the Hurro-Mesopotamian milieu, we find a distinct difference in the handling of birth in the two groups of texts. In the "Il-luyanka Myth," the entire process by which the Storm-god marries and begets a son is dealt with in two lines:

And he took the daughter of a poor man
as his wife, and he sired a son. (KBo III 7 III 4'–5'²²)

In contrast to this laconic phrasing, birth scenes in the Hurrian-derived texts are quite elaborate and in fact constitute a distinct literary *topos*.²³ In illustration I quote here the birth scenes from the previously mentioned "Tale of Appu." Through the intervention of the Sun-god, Appu is finally successful in impregnating his wife:

The wife of Appu conceived. The first month,
the second month, the third [mo]nth, the fourth
month, the fifth month, the sixth month, the
seventh month, the eight month (and) the
ninth month p[assed]. And the tenth month

21 In *Mythologies of the Ancient World*, ed. S.N. Kramer (New York, 1961), pp. 173 f.

22 4'. nu-za DUMU.SAL ŠA LÚ a-ši-wa-an-da-aš

5'. A-NA DAM-ŠU da-a-aš nu-za DUMU.NITA ha-aš-ta

23 See Hoffner, JNES 27, 1968, 198 ff., B. de Vries, "The Style of Hittite Epic and Mythology," Diss. Brandeis University 1967, pp. 100–04, and Siegelová, StBoT 14, 32–33.

arrived. Then the wife of Appu gave birth to a son. The [nur]se lifted the son and transferred²⁴ him to the knees (of) Appu. Appu began to delight in this son, and he began to groom²⁵ him. And he gave to him the pleasant²⁶ name “Evil Person,”²⁷ (saying:) “Inasmuch as my fatherly gods did n[ot] hold out] for him the good way, but (instead) held out the bad way,²⁸ let his name be “[Evil Per]son”!

Further, a second time [the wife of A]ppu conceived. [The tenth] m[on]th ar[r]ived, and the woman gave birth to a son. The nurse [lift]ed [the son], and he (Appu) gave to him the name “Righteous (Person),” (saying:) “Let him hence[forth]²⁹ be called “Righteous (Person)” by name!

“Inasmuch as my [fatherly] gods held out for him the good way [...] let his name henceforth be “Righteous (Person)”! (III 7–22³⁰)

Hoffner has outlined the structure of this mythological birth *topos* as follows:

- (1) the statement of conception,
- (2) the counting of the months of gestation,
- (3) the statement of birth,
- (4) the activity of the nurse,
- (5) the father’s first holding and fondling of the child, and
- (6) the bestowal of the name.³¹

24 For this translation of *hala-*, see Goetze, JAOS 74, 1954, 188.

25 This rendering of the verb *kunk-* is uncertain, but as Neumann has pointed out (IF 78, 1973, 240), the old translation “schaukeln”/“fondle” is incorrect. Apud Neu, StBoT 5, 102, the same writer suggests a translation “aufrichten.”

26 For the difficulties involved in translating *šamezzi-* here in the traditional manner as “sweet,” see Hoffner, JNES 27, 1968, 201–02.

27 The translations “Evil Person” and “Righteous (Person)” have been chosen because the text determines the names of the brothers not with the *Personenkeil*, but rather with LÚ, albeit inconsistently in the case of ^(LÚ)NÍG.SI.SÁ.

28 This is perhaps a reference to the manner in which Appu successfully had intercourse with his wife. See Hoffner, loc. cit.

29 See *ibid.*, 202, n. 42.

30 For a transliteration of this passage, see StBoT 14, 10.

31 JNES 27, 1968, 199.

This *topos* also appears in three other texts of the Hurrian milieu found at Boğazköy, though due to textual breaks and the exigencies of plot, nowhere else in its complete form. These other passages include: the “Song of Ullikummi,”³² Tablet I A III 10’ff.; the “Story of the Sun-god, the Cow, and the Fisherman,”³³ XXIV 7 III 18–19, IV 38–41; and the “Labor of Mt. Wašitta,”³⁴ XXIII 118.

Birth is also the main theme of the text known as “Kingship in Heaven.”³⁵ It is indeed unfortunate that columns II, III, and IV are in such poor condition, for in them a number of births occur.³⁶ These births, however, are hardly of the usual type, involving as they do either a male deity (Kumarbi) or the Earth, which has been fertilized through the reception of the severed genitalia of Anu. KUB XXXIII 120 + IV 6–27 presents another occurrence of the birth *topos* discussed above.

Two sagas from Boğazköy also employ birth as an important element in their plots. The first is the Old Hittite text dealing with the town of Zalpa.³⁷ In this tale, the queen of Kaneš first gives birth to thirty sons, but sets them afloat in containers on the river. These children attain manhood in the land of Zalpa. The queen later bears another brood—this time thirty daughters, who are allowed to remain in Kaneš. In true *Märchen* fashion,³⁸ the princes eventually return to Kaneš and unwittingly take their sisters to wife.

In addition, the badly mutilated KBo XII 3 IV 1’ff. seems to record a story involving the exposure of a new-born child, a fate similar to that of the princes of the Zalpa saga, and of course, that of Sargon and of Moses.³⁹

32 CTH 345. Edited by Güterbock, JCS 5, 1951, 135–61, and JCS 6, 1952, 8–42.

33 CTH 363. Edited by Friedrich, ZA 49, 1950, 225–33.

34 CTH 346.7. Edited by Friedrich, JKF 2, 1952, 150ff. A transliteration by Laroche is found in RHA 82, 1968, 74–75.

35 CTH 344. Translated by Goetze, ANET² 120–21. To the literature listed on p. 120, add now: Laroche, RHA 82, 1968, 39–47 (transliteration of the entire work) and Werner, BiOr 18, 1961, 291–92 (transliteration and translation of XXXIII 120 + II 71–86, done with access to photos).

36 In view of the extreme importance of birth in this text, the “nine counted years” (9 MU^{III.A}-aš kap-pu-u-wa-an-ta-aš, I 12, 18) that Alalu and Anu each reign before being replaced at the head of the pantheon might be a reflection of the months of gestation.

37 CTH 3. Edited by Otten, StBoT 17.

38 See Otten, StBoT 17, 63–64.

39 See Meriggi, FsOtten 204f.

2. Birth in Historical Texts

In historical texts, which are also to a large extent the records of the Hittite royal family, birth plays a role in two areas. First, the presence or absence of a legitimate heir to the throne was of extreme importance. In the “Proclamation of Telepinu” we read:

Let a prince of the first rank, a son, become king!
 If there is no first-rank prince, then whoever is
 a son of the second rank—let him become king! But
 if there is no prince, no male offspring, then
 whoever is a first-rank daughter—let them take a
 husband for her, and let him become king!⁴⁰

In his “Apology,”⁴¹ Hattušili III explains how, due to the lack of a first-rank successor, he had set Urḫi-Tešub, son of an *ESERTU*-woman,⁴² on the throne. And in KUB XXVI 33 II 7–9 an unnamed official relates his vain attempt to find a child sired by his deceased lord, Arnuwanda III:

And he had no offspring. A preg[nant] woman
 I sought, but a preg[nant] woman was not at
 hand.⁴³

Also in the “Apology of Hattušili III,” the author stresses the extraordinary favor shown to him by his patron goddess in making him king of Hatti,⁴⁴ when he was not first in line for this position, but rather the youngest of the (first-rank) children:

40 KBo III 1 III 36–39 (restorations from KBo VII 15 + KBo XII 4 II 11 ff.):

36. LUGAL-uš-ša-an ḫa-an-te-iz-zi-ya-aš-pát DUMU.LUGAL DUMU^{RU} ki-ik-k[(i-iš-)]ta-ru ták-ku DUMU.LUGAL

37. ḫa-an-te-iz-zi-iš NU.GÁL nu ku¹-iš ta-a-an pí-e-da-aš DUMU^{RU} nu LUGAL-uš a-pa-a-aš

38. ki-ša-ru ma-a-an DUMU.LUGAL-ma DUMU.NITA NU.GÁL nu ku-iš DUMU.SAL ḫa-an-te-iz-zi-iš

39. nu-uš-ši-iš-ša-an^{LÜ} an-ti-ya-an-ta-an ap-pa-a-an-du nu LUGAL-uš a-pa-a-aš ki-š[(a-ru)]

41 III 40 ff. See Goetze, NBr 22–23.

42 In addition to AHw 249, see Ünal, THeth 3, 110, n. 1, and Bin-Nun, THeth 5, 217, n. 26.

43 7. nu-uš-ši NUMUN NU.GÁL e-eš-ta ar-m[a-aḫ-ḫa-an-ta-an(-)]

8. SAL-an pu-nu-uš-šu-un nu ar-ma-aḫ-[ḫa-an-za]

9. SAL-aš Ū-UL e-eš-ta

44 Cf. IV 41 ff.

My father Muršili sired us four children—
 Ḫalpašulupi, Muwatalli, Ḫattušili and
 DINGIR^{MEŠ}.IR-i,⁴⁵ a daughter. And I was
 the youngest child of all.⁴⁶

Secondly, the granting of children to a couple could be interpreted as indicating the approval of their union by the gods. Thus Ḫattušili III describes his marriage to Puduḫepa as follows:

And the daughter of Pentipšarri the priest,
 (namely) Puduḫepa, I took to wife on the
 command of the goddess. And we set up house-
 keeping, [and] the god gave to us the love
 of husband (and) wife. And we produced for
 ourselves male children and female children.⁴⁷

Clearly we must understand such an ideal marriage also as the result of the favor of “the goddess” (here = Šaušga).

3. Birth in Hittite Letters

The fortunate marriage of Ḫattušili III is also mentioned by Puduḫepa herself in a boastful passage of a letter to Ramses II of Egypt:

And my personal deity, who did these things—
 as the Sun-goddess of Arinna, the Storm-god,
 Ḫebat, and Šaušga made (me) queen—(my personal
 deity) put me together with your brother (in
 marriage), and I produced male children and
 female children (so that) the people of Ḫatti
 speak of (my) “exceptional vitality”⁴⁸—
 my brother also recognizes this. Further,
 when I entered into the (royal) household,

45 Read Maššanuzzi? See Otten, Puduḫepa 9f.

46 I 9–11. For a transliteration, see Goetze, Ḫatt 6.

47 “Apology” III 1–4, with reading of III 3 after Otten, Puduḫepa 17, n. 36:

1. nu-za DUMU.SAL^m Pi-en-ti-ip-šar-ri^{LÚ} SANGA¹ Pu-du-ḫe-pa-an
 2. IŠ-TU INIM DINGIR^{LIM} DAM-an-ni da-ab-ḫu-un nu ḫa-an-da-a-u-en
 3. [nu-un-n]a-a-š DINGIR^{LUM} ŠA^{LÚ} MU-DI DAM a-aš-ši-ya-tar pi-eš-ta
 4. nu-un-na-aš DUMU.NITA^{MEŠ} DUMU.SAL^{MEŠ} i-ya-u-e-en

48 This translation of *Šan-na-a-an ti-iš-ša-a-an* is suggested by Goetze apud Helck, JCS 17, 1963, 92. See now HW² 76 for literature on this obscure Luwian⁷ expression.

such [pr]incesses as I found in the household—
they (also) gave birth under my administra-
tion (lit., “in my hand”).⁴⁹

Not only had Puduḫepa herself been blessed with many children, but even the other women in the palace had evidenced unusual fertility since she had become queen. In lines 63 f. Puduḫepa then promises her Egyptian correspondent that the royal daughter whom he would receive as his wife would also be possessed of the same “exceptional vitality.”

Finally, a letter has been found in which Ḫattušili asks Ramses to send a doctor and medicinal plants to Ḫatti to aid his sister Matanazi in conceiving a child, despite her relatively advanced age.⁵⁰

4. Birth in Legal Texts

In regard to birth, the Hittite Laws contain only provisions dealing with the fines to be paid in instances of induced miscarriage. In Tablet I § 17 (Middle Hittite KBo VI 3—the Old Hittite text is not preserved here) we read that if a free woman is caused to lose her child in the tenth month, that is, immediately before birth, the responsible party must pay ten shekels of silver. If the miscarriage takes place in the fifth month, five shekels are to be paid. Perhaps this indicates that the fine was always to be of the same number of shekels as the month of pregnancy in which the miscarriage occurred. Tablet I § 18 deals with the case of a slave woman caused to abort, and seems to prescribe half the fine demanded if the victim were free.⁵¹ In the thirteenth-century copy KBo VI 5, as well as in the late parallel version of the Laws (§§ XVI–XVII), the fine for

49 KUB XXI 38 obv. 57–60:

57. *na-at i-ya-at-ta ku-iš* DINGIR^{LUM} ŠA SAG.DU-YA nu SAL.LUGAL GIM-an
dUTU^{URU}TÚL-na dU^a dḪé-bat dIŠTAR-ya i-ya-at

58. *nu-mu IT-TI ŠEŠ-KA ḫa-an-da-it nu-za DUMU.NITA^{MEŠ} DUMU.SAL^{MEŠ} DÙ-*
nu-un nu am-me-el ḫa-na-a-an

59. *ti-iš-ša-a-an LÚ^{MEŠ} Ḫat-ti me-mi-iš-kán-zi ŠEŠ-YA-ya-an ṣa-qk-ti nam-ma-kán*
ŠA É^{TI} ku-wa-pí ú-wa-nu-un

60. [DU]MU.SAL^{MEŠ} LUGAL *ku-i-e-eš* ŠA É^{TI} *ú-e-mi-ya-nu-un nu-m[u-za-ká]n ŠU-i*
ḫa-a-ši-ir

The singular *i-ya-at* in line 57 is difficult; Únal, THeth 3, 87, with n. 186 translates “schul[fen]”.

50 652/f + 28/n + 127/r. See below, pp. 253 f.

51 This is the usual ratio between penalties in cases involving free and unfree, but the reading of the numeral on the tablet is not certain—see Friedrich, HG 20.

induced miscarriage is simply twenty shekels if the woman is free and ten shekels if she is a slave, regardless of the month of pregnancy.

Finally, Tablet I § 77a covers induced miscarriages in livestock, calling for a payment of two shekels in the case of a cow, and three⁵² shekels in the case of an ass caused to abort.

5. Birth in Prayer Texts

Previously we have seen that in the ritual texts progeny are among the most desired blessings for the members of the royal family. Quite naturally this attitude is also reflected in the prayers. For example, in KUB XXIV 2 rev. 12'ff. a deity is beseeched:

To the king, queen, princes, and to (all) the land
of Ḫatti g[iv]e life, health, strength, long years,
and joy (in') the future! [And to them] give future
thriving of grain, vines, fruit, cattle, sheep,
goats, pigs, mules, asses—together with wild
animals—and of human beings!⁵³

Additionally, reference to birth or early childhood—periods during which a person is utterly dependent upon others—is made occasionally in prayers in order to stress an intimate connection between a worshiper and a deity. Note, for instance, the “Prayer of Kantuzili” (KUB XXX 10) obv. 6: “O my god, since my mother gave birth to me, you, my god, have reared me.”⁵⁴

In a metaphorical passage in a prayer, Ḫattušili III turns this situation around and compares himself to a nurse, in view of the efforts and attention

52 So OH KBo VI 2 IV 7; the MH duplicate KBo VI 3 III 80 has two shekels also in the case of a she-ass.

53 XXIV 2 rev. 12'–16':

12'. A-NA LUGAL-ma SAL.LUGAL DUMU^{MEŠ} LUGAL Û A-NA KUR^{URU} Ḫa-at-ti
Ti-tar ḫa-at-tu-lq-tar

13'. in-na-ra-wa-tar MU.KAM GÍD.DA EGIR.UD^{MI} du-uš-ga-ra-at-ta-an-ma p[í-
iš-k]i

14'. [nu-uš-ma-aš ḫ]al-ki-ya-aš GÍŠ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN-aš GÍŠ^{GIŠ}še-e-ša-na-aš GUD^{U¹.A}-aš
UDU^{U¹.A}-aš MÁŠ^{U¹.A}-a[š]

15'. [(ŠAH-aš ANŠE.GIR.)]NUN.NA^{U¹.A}-aš ANŠE-aš gi-im-ra-aš ḫu-u-it-ni-it

16'. [(DUMU.LÚ.UL^{U¹}-aš-ša Š)]A EGIR.UD^{MI} mi-ya-a-tar pí-iš-ki

Restorations in lines 15' and 16' are from XXIV 1 IV 13–14—see Gurney, AAA 27, 1940, 32–35. For the translation “fruit” for GÍŠ^{GIŠ}šeša(na)-, see Laroche, Ug V, 778.

54 am-me-e[š] DINGIR-YA ku-it-mu-za AMA-YA ḫa-a-aš-ta nu-mu am-me-el DIN-
GIR-YA ša-al-la-nu-uš.

which he had lavished upon the holy city of Nerik, cult site of the young Storm-god, son of the Sungoddess of Arinna:

If a person raises a child for the father (and) mother, do not the father (and) mother indeed give⁵⁵ him (the fee) of the nurse? Do they not (then) rejoice over him? I have exerted myself in regard to the city of the Storm-god of N[erik], your beloved son. Now, o Sun-goddess of Arinna, [My Lady, for the sake of the city] of the Storm-god of Nerik, your belov[ed] son, be well disposed toward my soul, toward the soul of my wife, toward (those of) my children (and) [grandchildren]!⁵⁶

For a similar metaphor, in which Puduḥepa refers to herself as SAL *ḫarnau-waš*, “woman of the birth-stool” (KUB XXI 27 obv. 15 ff.), see below, pp. 233 ff.

6. Birth in Omen Texts

Among the omen material found at Boğazköy, all of which is derived from Mesopotamian sources, there are fragments of the birth omen series *šumma izbu*, both in Akkadian versions⁵⁷ and in Hittite translation. This latter material has been edited by Riemschneider in StBoT 9 (1970). According to Riemschneider, these texts reflect the existence of a Middle Babylonian forerunner to the classical series, although the material does not seem to have assumed at this point the shape and organization of the later tablets from the Library of Assurbanipal.⁵⁸ The omens in this series attempt to foretell the

55 *atta-anna-* is a collective here and thus takes the singular verb forms *pa-a-i* and *du-uš-ki-ya-zi*.

56 XIV 7 IV 11–19:

11. ... *ma-a-an UN-aš-pát*
 12. *at-ti an-ni DUMU-an šal-la-nu-zi nu-uš-ši at-ta-aš an-na-aš*
 13. ŠA^{SAL} UMMEDA Ū-UL *im-ma pa-a-i Ū-UL-ma-an-za-an-kán*
 14. *du-uš-ki-ya-zi am-mu-uq-qa-kán A-NA ŠA* ^{URU}N[e-ri-ik]
 15. DUMU-KA *a-aš-ši-ya-an-ta-aš URU-ri an-dá* []
 16. *da-ri-ya-aḫ-ḫu-un nu-mu-kán* ^{UTU}TÚL-na [GAŠAN-YA]
 17. ŠA ^{URU}Ne-ri-ik DUMU-KA *a-aš-ši-[ya-an-ta-aš URU-ri²]*
 18. ZI-YA ZI DAM-YA DUMU^{MES}-Y[A DUMU.DUMU^{MES}-YA²]
 19. [g]i-en-zu-wa-i ...

57 See Erle Leichty, *The Omen Series šumma izbu*, TCS IV (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1970), pp. 207–10.

58 See StBoT 9, 6.

future through interpretation of monstrous births, on the part of both women and of animals.

Also discovered at Boğazköy was a small fragment of a physiognomic omen text, KUB XXXVII 189 (CTH 537). Lines 8–17 of this piece are duplicate to BM 92694 obv. 36–45,⁵⁹ part of the fortieth tablet of the series *enūma ana bīt marši āšipu illiku*. This section of the series contains predictions concerning the sex and/or destiny of an unborn child, based upon observation of the physical appearance of the mother.

Another group of omens dealing with birth is contained in obv. 1'–10' of KUB VIII 35 (CTH 545), a tablet which represents a Hittite translation of Akkadian omen material⁶⁰ (menologies), later attested as part of the series *iqqur ipuš*.⁶¹ With the exception of the lines relevant to our discussion, the contents of this tablet have been discussed and edited in part by Berman, Fs Güterbock 57–63.⁶² Obv. 1'–10' have been published in transliteration by Friedrich in HE II² 49, and in translation in AO 25.2, 1925, 29–30, but have never been edited fully. Therefore an edition is presented here.⁶³

59 See René Labat, *Traité akkadien de diagnostics et pronostics médicaux* (Paris, 1951), I, 202–05, and II, planche LIII.

60 KUB XXXVII 18, an Akkadian fragment also listed by Laroche under CTH 545, is too small to be of any value here.

61 See Labat, *calendrier*.

62 Two comments are in order regarding Berman's edition. First, judging from the signs, the ominous event of obv. 11'–22' is more probably to be read as IM.KUN than as IM.GÚ.A. Leaving aside the question as to the more original reading, it seems likely that the Hittite scribe, at least, understood IM.KUN, "the wind with a tail" (= "tornado"?), see Labat, *calendrier* 190, n. 3.

Secondly, a reading of the apodosis in obv. 14' as *nu-za at-ta-aš DUMU-an KÙ.BABBAR I-ĤA-AB-B[IL]* is unlikely. Neither *ḥabālu* A nor B provides a satisfactory meaning, and there is no other instance in this text in which a verb is fully written out in Akkadian. The photo of the tablet shows by the spacing of the signs that we should read here *nu-za at-ta-aš DUMU-an KÙ.BABBAR-i ḥa-ap-r[a-iz-zi]*, "the father will se[ll] the son for silver." This Hittite translation could have resulted from a misunderstanding of the rather common apodosis KI.LAM TUR(-ir), "the market price will be small," as "the sale of the child." (In private conversation, H. Berman informs me that he has abandoned his earlier interpretation.)

63 My study of KUB VIII 35 has benefited from the discussion of this text in a course given by Prof. H. Hoffner at Yale University in 1974, and from the examination of a photo of the tablet now in the *Nachlaß* of K.K. Riemschneider at the Oriental Institute in Chicago. In addition, I was able to consult Riemschneider's unfinished manuscript dealing with the omen material found at Boğazköy.

KUB VIII 35

- Obv. [ma-a-an IGI-zi ITU-mi DUMU-aš mi-ya-r]i a-pa-a-aš-zq D[UMU-aš
a]t-ta-[aš] É-ir ar-ḥa BIR-ya-zi EGIR-pa UD.KAM-ti-ma-at an-da ar-
nu-[z]i
- 2'. [ma-a-an I-NA ITU.2.KAM DUMU-aš] mi-ya-ri a-pa-a-aš DUMU-aš
ŠA-aš ḥu-u-iš-wa-tar LÁ-zi I-NA ITU.3.KAM DUMU-aš mi-ya-ri a-
pa-a-aš DUMU-aš NÍG.SI×SÁ-tar a-uš-zi
[I-NA ITU.4.KAM DUMU-aš] mi-ya-ri a-pa-a-aš DUMU-aš GIG-ri ma-
a-an I-NA ITU.5.KAM DUMU-aš mi-ya-ri UD.KAM^{H1.A}-uš-ši ma-ni-
in-ku-e-eš-ša-an-zi
- 4'. [I-NA IT]U.6².KAM DUMU-aš mi-ya-ri a-pí-e-da-ni DUMU-li at-ta-aš
an-na-aš e-ku-ni-mi kat-ta-an GUB-an-zi a-pa-a-aš-kán DUMU-aš
ÍD!-az
[ḥu²-w]a²-an-ta-za IZI-za la-ap-pa-za i-ya-at-ta-ri I-NA ITU.7.KAM
DUMU-aš mi-ya-ri a-pu-u-un DUMU-an DINGIR^{LIM}-iš ka-ni-eš-zi
- 6'. I-NA ITU.8.KAM DUMU-aš mi-ya-ri a-pa-a-aš-za DUMU-aš ḥal-ki-in
KÙ.BABBAR-ya i-ya-zi I-NA ITU.9.KAM DUMU-aš mi-ya-ri a-pa-a-
aš DUMU-aš a-ki
ma-a-na-aš Ú-UL-ma a-ki nu a-pí-e-el A-BU-ŠU AMA-ŠU pít-tu-li-ya-aš
ú-e-mi-ya-zi
- 8'. I-NA ITU.10.KAM DUMU-aš mi-ya-ri É-ri-aš-kán ku-e-da-ni EGIR-an
mi-ya-ri nu-kán (É-)ir dan-na-at-te-eš-zi
I-NA ITU.11.KAM DUMU-aš mi-ya-ri a-pa-a-aš DUMU-aš in-na-ra-a-
u-e-eš-zi I-NA ITU.12.KAM DUMU-aš mi-ya-ri a-pa-a-aš DUMU-aš^{LÚ}ŠU.GI-eš-zi
- 10'. [nu-]zq DUMU^{MES} me-ik-ki i-ya-zi I-NA ITU.13.KAM DUMU-aš mi-
ya-ri NU.GÁL ku-it-ki

[If in the first month a child is bor]n, this ch[ild] will scatter the house of (his) fath[er], but in the future he will recover it.

- 2'. [If in the second month a child] is born, this child will lack inner vitality.
(If) in the third month a child is born, this child will experience justice.

[(If) in the fourth month a child] is born, this child will become ill. (If) in the fifth month a child is born, his days will be short.

- 4'. [(If) in] the sixth [mon]th a child is born, the father and mother to (= of?) this child will come? into the cold; the child (himself) from the river,

from [w]ind?, from fire, (and) from the hot iron? will escape. (If) in the seventh month a child is born, a god will single out this child.

- 6'. (If) in the eighth month a child is born, this child will procure grain and silver. (If) in the ninth month a child is born, this child will die;

if he does not die, then his father (and) mother will experience fear.

- 8'. (If) in the tenth month a child is born, in whatever house he is born—(that) (hou)se will become empty.

(If) in the eleventh month a child is born, this child will become strong.
(If) in the twelfth month a child is born, this child will grow old

- 10'. [and] produce many children. (If) in the thirteenth month a child is born, there is no (omen).

Commentary

In part this paragraph runs parallel to § 64 of Labat's edition of the series *iqqur ipuš*,⁶⁴ a section which unfortunately is not well preserved.

1'. The beginning of this line is restored after obv. 13' of this tablet: *ma-a-an-kán IGI-zi ITU-mi IM.KUN*⁶⁵ *KUR-e an-da ka-ri-ya-zi*.

The reading *ar-ḫa BIR-ya-zi*, which is unique in Hittite texts, is supported by B[IR] (=is[*appab*]), "dissolve, scatter,"⁶⁶ in the Akkadian parallel. Elsewhere, the BIR-sign is found only with the reading ELLÁG, "kidney"⁶⁷—see Deimel, *ŠL* 400:3.

That EGIR-*pa* UD.KAM-*ti* is a single term, equivalent to the more usual writing EGIR.UD(.KAM) (= *appašiwatt-*, "future") is shown by the presence of the enclitics =*ma=at* only on the second element here.

The reading of the verb at the end of the line is supported by the photo.

2'. LÁ-*zi*: Since in Akkadian contexts LÁ often represents *maṭū*, "to be small; to lack (something),"⁶⁸ it probably stands here for Hittite *wakšiyazi*, which appears in phonetic spelling in obv. 11' of this text. To the expression ŠA-*aš ḫuišwatar wakšiya-* compare UL *ḫuišwannaš* (*eš-*), "not be one of life," Text C obv. 14, and the "Apology of Ḫattušili III" I 15, in both instances used of a baby or young child.

For the lack of the conditional conjunction *mān*, which is the rule rather than the exception in this paragraph, HE II² 49 refers the reader to HE I² § 328 a.

4'*f*. A birth in the sixth month seems to bode ill for both the parents and the child⁶⁹—the former will be exposed to the elements,⁷⁰ while the latter will experience a number of narrow escapes. The reading [*ḫu-w*]a-an-ta-za, "from

64 See Labat, *calendrier* 132–35.

65 See above, note 62.

66 See AHW 1024.

67 Formerly read KALÁM, but see now MSL 5, 191; MSL 13, 212 II 6.

68 See AHW 636.

69 The apodosis has been completely lost in the case of the sixth month (UL^{ili}) in the Akkadian parallel.

70 Thus we interpret *ekunimi* DU-an-*zi*. A problem is presented, however, by the fact that both of the usual Hittite readings of the Sumerogram DU, *iya-*, "go" (i.e., read GIN) and *ar-*, "stand" (i.e., read GUB), are Middle, while the form is provided here with the present Active ending -*anzi*. Perhaps there has been confusion, and DU has been employed incorrectly here to represent the homophonous stem *ar-*, "arrive," which is Active in inflection.

[w]ind,” at the beginning of line 5’ was given by Riemschneider in his unpublished work on the omens and is supported morphologically by VIII 21:11: *bu-wa-an-da-az*. The photo is unclear here. For the metal implement *lappa-*, see CHD III 40; our context suggests either a branding iron for marking a slave or an implement of torture.

7’. The grammatical subject of *wemiya-* here is *pittuliyas* (nom.sg.) and the object is *A-BU-ŠU AMA-ŠU*.

8’. The significance of the adverb *EGIR-an* in this line is unclear. Friedrich, AO 25.2, 1925, 29, translated “das Haus, in dem er hinten’ geboren wird.”

É was probably lost here by haplography between the quite similar KÂN- and IR-signs.

10’. This is a reference to the birth of a child in an intercalary month.

7. Birth in Ritual Texts

The rites of analogic magic employed in Hittite ritual texts were for the most part based upon processes and experiences common in the daily life of the Anatolian peasant of the second millennium B.C. Thus, for example, we encounter rites involving the preparation of soap from alkali-bearing plants⁷¹ and others featuring the fermentation of yeast.⁷² Therefore, it is not surprising that we find the reproduction of livestock as the subject of one of these instances of analogic magic. KUB VII 41 and dups. IV 29–36 reads:

And the seer places a ram and a ewe before the gods and speaks as follows: “(As) the ram ‘splits’ (i.e., ‘mounts’) the ewe so that she becomes pregnant, (so) let this town and dwelling-complex become a ram, and let it ‘split’ the Dark Earth in the steppe! And let the Dark Earth becom[e] pregnant with the blood, the impurity (and) the sin! But as a pregnant woman and sheep give birth, let this town and dwelling-complex likewise give birth to the evil (and) the blood! And let the Dark Earth hold fast the ...”⁷³

⁷¹ KBo IV 2 I 39ff.

⁷² KBo VI 34 I 29ff.

⁷³ For a transliteration, see Otten, ZA 54, 1961, 138.

Compare also KUB XLIII 23 rev. 19'–22':

And as one sow customarily bears many piglets,
(so) let each vine of this vineyard, like the
sow, bear many grapes!⁷⁴

But reproduction does not appear in Hittite ritual texts solely as a source for metaphorical acts. Rather, the goal of many rituals is the acquisition of fertility itself. One of the ultimate purposes of the myth-and-ritual texts of the “Vanishing God” genre is to secure the fertility of the entire cosmos.⁷⁵ More particularly, the “Ritual of Anna” (XII 44 II 25 ff.) has as its goal the restoration of vitality to an infertile vine.

In regard to human reproduction, rituals performed on behalf of the royal couple, as previously noted,⁷⁶ include offspring among the requested boons. Also attested is a puberty ritual for a Hittite prince, entitled the “Festival of Procreation” (EZEN *ḫaššumaš*),⁷⁷ which indicates once more the importance of the reproductive function in the life of an adult member of Hittite society.

For those persons who experienced reproductive difficulties, recourse to ritual was possible. While it is unlikely that the Akkadian potency incantations found in the Boğazköy archives⁷⁸ served more than a scholarly purpose, the “Ritual of Paškuwatti” (CTH 406)⁷⁹ was performed if “a man has no reproductive power, or if he is no[t de]sirous of a woman.”⁸⁰

On the other hand, Goetze’s “Ritual of Tunnawi” (CTH 409) is more general in character, intended for use if

74 19'. ... *nu-za* 1 ŠAH *ma-a-ab-ḫa-an*

20'. ŠAH.TUR^{U1A} *me-ik-ku-uš ḫa-aš-ki-iz-zi ki-e-el-la-az* ŠA^{GI8} SAR.G[EŠTIN]

21'. 1-aš-ša^{GI8} *ma-a-ab-la-aš* ŠAH-aš *i-wa-ar mu-u-ri-uš*

22'. *me-ik-ku-uš ḫa-aš-ki-id-du*

For the fertility of a sow used in ritual metaphor, see also Kühne, ZA 62, 1972, 250–52.

75 See below, p. 77f.

76 See above, p. 4.

77 CTH 633 = IBoT I 29 (with duplicates 141/s and Bo 3228, as reported by Hoffner, AlHeth 133).

78 CTH 802—see Biggs, ŠA.ZLGA 5–6 and 54ff.

79 IX 27 + VII 5 + VII 8. Translated by Goetze, ANET² 349–50.

80 IX 27 + I 2f.:

... *ma-a-an LÚ-ni ku-e-da-ni ḫa-aš-[š]a-tar*

NU.GÁL *na-aš-ma-aš* SAL-ni *me-na-ab-ḫa-an-da Ū-U[L Z]l-aš*

For the restoration in I 3, cf. our Text K obv. 5, rev. 4.

a woman's children keep dying, or if she continually aborts, or if a man's or a woman's sexual organs are disabled in consequence of a polluting spell.⁸¹

A fragmentary text edited by Otten and Siegelová in AfO 23, 1970, 32–38,⁸² may well deal with the same complex of problems. Note the address to the river:

But you, o river, have taken for yourself
the purification, the life of the progeny,
and procreation?⁸³

The word tentatively translated here as “procreation,”⁸⁴ *Ḫušantaraḫša-*, is the Luwian abstract substantive of the adjective *ušantari-*, “fertile,”⁸⁵ a rather rare word which, however, occurs five times in Goetze's “Tunnawi” ritual.⁸⁶ This fact supports our surmise that this text is a related work.

In any event, the concern of Hittite ritual with the problems of fertility and reproduction is evident in these several texts,⁸⁷ and it is further to be observed in the numerous birth rituals *per se*, which are edited in the following chapters.

81 VII 53 I 4–6:

4. *na-aš-ma-kán SAL-ni DUMU^{MEŠ} ŠU ak-ki-iš-kán-zi na-aš-ma-aš-ši-kán*

5. ^{UZU}*šar-ḫu-u-wa-an-da-ma ma-uš-ki-iz-zi na-aš-šu LÚ-ni na-aš-ma SAL-ni*

6. *pa-ap-ra-an-na-aš ud-da-na-an-za* ^{UZU}*UR^{HI.A} ŠA ar-ḫa šar-ra-an*

82 The exemplars as listed by Otten and Siegelová are A = Bo 3617, B = Bo 3078, and C = KBo XIII 104 + Bo 6464.

83 13'–14' (ibid. 33):

[(z)]i-i[(k-ma-za)] ID-aš pá-r-ku-nu-mar DUMU-la-an-na-aš ḫ[(u-u-i-du-mar)]

[(Ḫu-)]ša-an-t[(a-r)]a-ḫi-ša ta-at-ta

84 Otten and Siegelová render it as “Fortpflanzungskraft?” and discuss it fully, ibid. 33–36.

85 See Goetze, Tunn 75.

86 See Tunn, index, s.v.

87 Sturtevant and Bechtel, Chrest 118, suggested that the “Ritual of Anniwiyani” (CTH 393) is intended to promote the birth of sons. This is not stated explicitly, however. The introduction (VBoT 24 I 2–3) reads: *ma-a-an* ⁴*LAMÁ lu-li-mi-ya-aš SISKUR.SISKUR i-ya-mi*, “when I perform a ritual for the *lulimi*-protective deity,” and the purpose of the ritual activity is clearly the replacement, in regard to the offerant, of this deity by ⁴*LAMÁ innarauwant-* (cf. II 2–44). But since we are not certain as to the meaning of the modifiers here, we are unclear as to the concrete goal of this text. The opposition *lulimi*–*innarauwant-* is probably not “effeminate:manly” as suggested by Sturtevant and Bechtel—see HW¹ 130, and CHD III 82.

II. THE TEXTS

Text A = KUB XXX 29

Obv. [ma-a-an-za] SAL-an-za ḥa-a-ši nu ḥa-aš-nu-pa-al-la-aš ki-i ḥa-an-da-q-
[iz-]zi

2. [2 ^{GIŠ}ku-up-p]i-iš-⟨šar⟩ 3 ^{KUŠ}šar-pa-aš-ši-iš nu-uš-ša-an ku-e-da-ni-ya
[A-NA] 1 ^{EN}^{GIŠ}ku-up-pi-iš-ni 1 ^{EN}^{GIŠ}šar-pa-aš-ši-iš ki-it-ta

4. [1] ^{EN}^{KUŠ}šar-pa-aš-ši-ša-ká[n] ^{GIŠ}ku-up-pi-iš-na-aš iš-tar-na
[t]a-ga-a-an iš-pa-ra-an-zi DUMU-aš-ša-an ku-wa-pi kat-ta ma-uš-zi
6. [nu-]za-an SAL-za ^{GIŠ}ku-up-pi-iš-na-aš še-ir e-ša ^{SAL}ḥa-aš-nu-pa-al-la-ša
[ki-iš-]šar-ta ^{TUG}ḥu-wa-am-ma-li-ya-an ḥar-zi
8. [nu ki-iš-]ša-an ḥu-uk-ki-iš-ki-ši

- [DING]IR^{MEŠ}na-aš pi-i-e-it-ta pi-iš-kán-zi nu-za ^dUTU ^{URU}A-ri-in-na
10. [e-]ša-at ^dḤal-ma-aš-šu-iz-za-ma-az ^{URU}Ḥa-a-ar-pi-ša KI..MIN (=e-ša-at)
[^d]Ḥa-a-te-pi-⟨nu-⟩ša-az ^{URU}Ma-li-lu-u-ḥa KI.MIN ^dLAMÁ-⟨az⟩ ^{URU}Ka-
ra-ab-na ⟨KI.MIN⟩
12. [ḥa-d]u-ga-ša-az ^dTe-li-pi-nu-uš ^{URU}Ta-a-ú-ni-ya-⟨aš⟩ KI.MIN
[^dḤ]u-uz¹-zi-ya-ša-az ^{URU}Ḥa-ak-mi-iš-ša KI.MIN
14. [DING]IR.MAH-⟨ni²-⟩ma-kán^a pi-e-da-an Ū-UL a-aš-ta nu-uš-ši-kán
⟨NAM.⟩DUMU.LÚ.UL^{LU}
[pi-e-]da-an a-aš-ta

16. [] iš-tar-na ⟨pi²-⟩e-ta-an nu-za a-pa-a-at
[NU.GÁ]L-an ^{GIŠ}lu-ut-ta-i NU.GÁL-an
18. [^{GIŠ}ku-ra-a]k-ki-aš pi-e-ta-an e-eš-zi
[] ki-it-ta-at
20. []-i]t²

Rev. uninscribed

a. erasure follows

- [When] a woman is giving birth, then the midwife prepa[re]s the follow-
 ing:
- § 1 2. [two stools] (and) three cushions. On each stool is placed one cushion.
-
4. And one spreads out [on]e cushion between the stools
- § 2 on the ground. When the child begins to fall (i.e., to be born),
6. [then] the woman seats herself on the stools. And the midwife holds the receiving blanket with (her) [ha]nd.
8. [And] you shall repeatedly conjure as [foll]ows:
-
- § 3 To the [go]ds allotments are given. The Sun-goddess in Arinna
10. has [se]ated herself, and Ḫalmašuit in Ḫarpiša likewise, and Ḫatepi(nu) in Maliluḫa likewise, ^dLAMA in Karaḫna likewise,
12. the [awe]some Telepinu in Taw(i)niya likewise, and Ḫuzziya in Ḫakmiš likewise.
14. But for Ḫannaḫanna there did not remain a place; so for her, man(kind) remained (as) a [pl]ace.
-
16. [] the central (pl)ace[?]. And this
- § 4 [] is n)ot. There is no window.
18. [] a place of the [pill]ar there is.
- [] lay.

Commentary

This one-columned text, of which only the obverse was inscribed, presents a ritual for time of delivery. Although Otten has suggested that this text may represent a “Sondertafel,”¹ that is, a separate tablet on which the incantations necessary for the performance of a ritual are collected,² this is unlikely since §§ 1–2 clearly deal in some detail with the physical preparations for birth. The presence of Hattic deities in § 3 suggests an origin within this cultural group for the ritual.

Collation of the original by Prof. Otten now shows that the inscription begins on the upper edge of this tablet, an archaic feature.³ Since only E (obv. 2, 6, 9, and 14—but cf. obv. 16 and 18) and ŠAR (obv. 2, 3, 4, and 7)⁴ display relatively late shapes, while no very late forms are found, an early fourteenth-century date is probable.⁵

obv. 1. In discussing this line in *Oriens* 10, 1957, 356, Güterbock restores only [mān], but New Hittite seems to have required -za with *haš-*, “give birth,”⁶ and it has therefore been included here. The sole exception to the use of -za with *haš-* in an NH composition is XLI 8 IV 33 (Otten, *ZA* 54, 1961, 138), but even here the particle is employed with *haš-* in the very next line, and it also appears in the duplicate KBo X 45 IV 34. Therefore -za was probably omitted by error in line 33, that is, read [(GI)]M-an-ma-⟨za⟩. In Old Hittite, however, the reflexive particle does not always accompany *haš-*.⁷ Due largely to the small number of attestations available, the conditions calling for its use cannot yet be determined.⁸ The increase in the employment of -za observable

1 BiOr 8, 1951, 230 n. 51.

2 See below, p. 38.

3 See Otten/Souček, StBoT 8, 12, n. 2. Prof. Otten also informs me that a comparison of script and clays indicates that Text M may indirectly join Text A.

4 See, however, Neu/Rüster, StBoT 21, 5.

5 Note especially the archaic shapes of HJAR (obv. 7) and URU (obv. 11, 13).

6 The rule presented by Goetze, JAOS 74, 1954, 189, by which the use of the particle is conditioned by the presence of a direct object has been refuted by Otten, StBoT 17, 31.

7 E.g., KBo XXII 2 I 1, 2 (StBoT 17, 6) and in the majority of the Hittite translations of Akkadian birth omens, which, although for the most part preserved in NH copies, go back to an older period—see Riemschneider, StBoT 9, 7–8.

8 See Otten, StBoT 17, 31. The comment by Josephson, *Kratylos* 18, 1973 (1975), 141, that -za is employed only to indicate “intimen Bezug, nicht aber Nutzen oder Gewinn des Subjektes” does not convince me in regard to *haš-*, since the intimate participation of the mother seems called for in all births.

in this usage parallels that described by Hoffner for nominal sentences in JNES 28, 1969, 226.⁹

For *ḥašnupalla*-, see below, pp. 232f.

obv. 2. The restoration [2 ^{GIŠ}*ku-up-pi-iš*-(*šar*)] is given by Güterbock, Oriens 10, 1957, 356. Although in this instance and apud HW¹, 342, he suggests that the scribe has accidentally omitted a ŠAR-sign, Güterbock also entertains the possibility of a “short” stem *kuppi*-. The only other attestations of this word in Hittite—both in this text—belong to the *r/n* stem, and the two occurrences of the Luwian cognate (^{GIŠ}*ku-up-pi-iš-ša*, XXXV 54 II 21, and ^{GIŠ}*ku-up-pi-eš-ša*, XXXV 68:9) also point to a Hittite stem *kuppiššar*.¹⁰

While shortened stems are not unknown in Hittite, it is simpler to assume an error here¹¹ than to posit two stems¹² for a word that occurs only three times, and then in a single text. Note also the large number of instances on this tablet in which signs have been omitted (obv. 11, 14, 16[?]).

The meaning “(foot)stool” is well established for the Luwian word¹³ through alternation with the Sumerogram ^{GIŠ}GIR.GUB, and this translation also fits the occurrences in Text A. A more common word for “(foot)stool,” whose meaning was likewise established through an alternation with ^{GIŠ}GIR.GUB,¹⁴ is *ḥapšalli-/ḥaššalli*-,¹⁵ found in Text K obv. 24. The fact that the two ^{GIŠ}*kuppiššar* in § 1 of Text A seem to correspond to the 2 ^{GIŠ}GIR.GUB^{HI.A} *ŠI-IḪ-R[U-TI]* of Text B I 5’¹⁶ suggests that the ^{GIŠ}*kuppiššar* was a smaller stool

⁹ See also Carruba, Part 46–50.

¹⁰ See Laroche, DLL 140, § 32.

¹¹ See Otten, StBoT 17, 28, for errors of this type.

¹² 1^{EN} *ku-u-pa-aš* in XLII 34:5 and the gloss ^U *ku-up-pi-in* in the Akkadian medical text XXXVII 1 obv. 25 (Köcher, AfO 16, 1952, 54–55) are probably not relevant here.

¹³ See Otten, Luv 42–43. The suggestion found there that Luwian *kuppišša(r)* is related to the Semitic root *kbs/kbš*, and particularly to Biblical Hebrew *kebeš* “footstool,” is to be rejected. This latter word occurs but once in Hebrew, and even in this instance has been shown by North (ZAW 50, 1932, 29–29) to be the result of a pious emendation of an original *kebes* “lamb.” And, although A. Salonen in *Die Möbel des Alten Mesopotamiens* (Helsinki, 1963), pp. 28–30, lists a *kibsu*, “Schemel,” both CAD K (sub *kibsu* B) and AHw (sub *kibsu* II) define this word as a piece of fabric.

¹⁴ See Sommer, OLZ 1939, 681, and also Archi, SMEA 1, 1966, 82, n. 31.

¹⁵ See however the doubts expressed by Laroche, OLZ 1957, 134ff. (sub no. 121).

¹⁶ See below, p. 36, for the relationship between Texts A and B.

than the ^{GIŠ}*haššalli-*, which is found in alternation only with unmodified ^{GIŠ}GIR.GUB.¹⁷

Outside of the present text, only two occurrences of *šarpašši-* are known, both of which deal with the furniture of the Storm-god of Kuliwišna: KBo XV 30 obv. 10:]1 GAD 1 ^{KUŠ}NÍG.BĀR *šar-pa-aš-ši-iš*], and KUB LI 22 I 8–9 (MIO 4, 1956, 339):

IM ^{URU}K]u-li-ú-iš-na 1 ^{GIŠ}ŠÚ.A-ŠU
]šar-pa-aš-ši-iš

Note only that the latter passage, like Text A, mentions *šarpašši-* in connection with a piece of furniture upon which one may sit (^{GIŠ}ŠÚ.A, “chair, throne [in Hittite texts]”).

^{KUŠ}/^{GIŠ}*šarpašši-* is a derivative in *-ašši-*.¹⁸ of ^{KUŠ}/^{GIŠ}*šarpa-*, and both words have been discussed by many scholars.¹⁹ Güterbock’s translation, “bolster, cushion,”²⁰ cannot be far wide of the mark and fits this context well.

obv. 5. That (*katta*) *mauš-*, literally “fall (down),” does not refer simply to the entrance of the child into the birth canal is shown by its use in the “Ritual of Tunnawi(ya)” to describe miscarriage.²¹ A semantic parallel to this Hittite usage is found in Akkadian *maqātu*, “to fall,” in a similar context in BAM 248 I 50: *šèr-ru lim-qu-ut-ma ZALĀG IGI*, “let the baby fall, let him see the light (of day)!”

obv. 7. [*ki-iš-*]*šar-ta*: For the instrumental singular ending in *-ta*, which appears on a small number of nouns—mostly *r/n* heteroclitics, see Oettinger, StBoT 22, 39, n. 78.

obv. 8. *hu-uk-ki-iš-ki-ši*: The use of the second person singular, addressed to the practitioner, is unusual in Hittite rituals,²² but very common in Akkadian ritual texts. Note in this connection the Akkadian language medical text

17 See also Danmanville, RHA 70, 1962, 57–58.

18 See Friedrich, HE I² § 51 b. Since this affix forms nouns of common gender, ^{KUŠ}*šarpa-pa-aš-ši-ša-kán* in obv. 4, which is accusative by context, must be interpreted as an error, rather than as evidence that we have here an *š*-stem neuter like *nepiš*.

19 Gurney, AAA 27, 1940, 90–92; Güterbock, Oriens 10, 1957, 356–57, 362; (Jakob-)Rost, MIO 4, 1956, 338–40; Popko, Kultobjekte 129.

20 Oriens 10, 1957, 356.

21 VII 53 I 4–5—see above, p. 18 f., with n. 81.

22 Note the isolated occurrences of *teši*, “you say,” in the “First Military Oath”—see Oettinger, StBoT 22, 115 (Glossar). In this text too, however, the third person singular is usual in the verb.

XXXVII 1 obv. 5–6: GIM *ra-bi-ki ta-ra-ab-(bak)* 𒀭 *bu-wa-ar-ti-in* GIM-*an za-nu-uz-zi*, where in a Hittite gloss the second person of the Akkadian text is replaced by the standard third person of Hittite ritual instructions.²³

obv. 9. *pí-i-e-it-ta*, which indicates an allotment of land,²⁴ is discussed fully by von Schuler, HDA 57f. The passage in Text A is clearly aetiological: When the first six deities mentioned received their cult centers (the cities in which they have seated themselves) as *pietta*, there was no place left for DINGIR.MAH (Ḫannaḫanna²⁵). In consolation, therefore, she was given humankind as her domain.

obv. 9–10. *nu-za* ^dUTU ^{URU}A-*ri-in-na* [*e-*]*ša-at*: In the context of this ritual, the taking of seats by the deities in their cult centers²⁶ must be seen as parallel to the seating of the woman upon the stools.

For the location of Arinna, holy city of the pre-Indo-European Sun-goddess Wurušemu (here represented by the Sumerogram ^dUTU),²⁷ see Güterbock, JNES 20, 1961, 89–90.

obv. 10. ^dḪal-*ma-aš-šu-iz-za-ma-az*: Although Laroche, Rech 22, suggests that we are dealing with an ablative here, the divine name is rather in the nominative, as in the case of the six other deities mentioned in this passage. The form should be segmented as ^dḪalmašuit^t*š=ma=az*, and the spelling *-iz-za-* with a superfluous vowel understood as expressing the *tt* usual in writings of this divine name.

Hittitologists have long interpreted Ḫalmašuit^t(i)²⁸ as the divinized royal throne, of Hattic origin and feminine gender—see most recently Archi, SMEA 1, 1966, 76–120, and von Weiher, RIA IV, 62. All three of these characteristics have now effectively been called into question by Starke (ZA 69, 1979, 47–120), who in addition feels that Ḫalmašuit^t(i) is never an ordinary deity, but only an “imaginäre Verkörperung und Symbol einer politischen Idee,” namely

23 See Köcher, AfO 16, 1952/53, 53.

24 *pietta* is a technical term of land tenure and never refers to cultic offerings as interpreted by del Monte in his translation of this passage in RG 6, 66, 256, 417: “Den [Göt]tern gibt man das regelmäßige Opfer.” See now also Puhvel, H&I 213.

25 See below, pp. 239–41.

26 A similar passage involving the seating of various gods in different cities is XXIV 8 + XXXVI 60 IV 13–18 (StBoT 14, 12), where, however, the gods, cities, and context are entirely different.

27 See Laroche, Rech 38. Her epithet *arinitti/u* (IBoT I 29 obv. 39, 42, 47) means “she of Arinna” in Hattic—see Kammenhuber, HbOr 433.

28 For the shape of the stem, see Starke, ZA 69, 1979, 104–07.

the ideology behind Hittite kingship and the expansion of its hegemony in Anatolia in the early second millennium (p. 73).

This last point, however, is unlikely. *Ḫalmašuitt(i)*, whose name is often written in later texts utilizing the Sumerogram ^{GIŠ}/_dDAG, is a divinized object—if not the throne, then probably the throne-dais,²⁹ and often receives offerings in the company of the hearth, window, door-bolt, etc.,³⁰ as well as in that of anthropomorphic deities.³¹ His² priest is among those in attendance at the “Festival of Procreation” (IBoT I 29 obv. 20 ff.), and at KUB VI 45 I 52 he² is invoked along with numerous other gods to come to the aid of Muwatalli. Finally, Text A here shows that *Ḫalmašuitt(i)* could indeed appear in association with a particular locality, an observation which does not invalidate the close connection of *Ḫalmašuitt(i)* with kingship so clearly displayed in the ritual CTH 414.³² Whether this special relationship to the king plays any role in Text A is uncertain, but nothing else in the ritual indicates that it was composed specifically for royal use.

No other passages document the connection of *Ḫalmašuitt(i)* with the poorly-attested city of *Ḫarpiša*, which, due to its association with *Kalimuna* in CTH 381 (VI 45 + II 52; dup. VI 46 III 20), is probably to be located in the central Anatolian territory of the city of *Iṣṭahara*.³³

obv. 11. [^d]*Ḫa-a-te-pi-(nu-)*ša-az ^{URU}*Ma-li-lu-u-ḫa*: Laroche, Rech 25, tentatively catalogues the deity mentioned here as an independent divinity, but it is more likely that this is simply a scribal error for ^d*Ḫatepinu/Ḫatepuna*.³⁴ Very little is known about this goddess,³⁵ but the fact that she is the spouse of the

29 Note Bo 2843 III 20 where a seat (^{GIŠ}ŠU.A) is set up on ^{GIŠ}DAG-ti—see Starke, ZA 69, 1979, 87, n. 82.

30 For example, IBoT I 2 III 5; KUB II 6 IV 30; X 23 III 20. In these instances *Ḫalmašuitt(i)* is preceded by the ^{GIŠ} determinative.

31 For example, KBo IV 9 II 44 ff., where *Ḫalmašuitt(i)* is worshipped first in association with ^dZA.BA₄.BA₄, and two lines later in company with hearth, window, and door-bolt. In the first instance we find ^dDAG-ti and in the second ^{GIŠ}DAG-ti.

32 Edited fully only in an old and unsatisfactory article by Schwartz, Or 16, 1947, 23–55, but a new edition by Szabó has been announced—see THeth 5, 147, n. 184.

33 See del Monte, RG 6, 150 f., 165.

34 The only other possible attestation of **Ḫatepi* is KBo XIV 77:6: [^d]*Ḫa-te-pi*!(-), which may just as well again be a damaged writing of ^d*Ḫatepinu*.

35 See Laroche, Rech 24 f., and Goetze, Kleinasien² 144, with n. 1. Additional attestations are KBo XXIII 89:3, 6, 18², and the OH fragments KBo XXV 126:5', 6'²; and KBo XXV 129 III 16.

god Telepinu,³⁶ who appears here in the following line, supports the assumption of haplography. The city of Maliluḫa does not occur elsewhere.

^dLAMÁ(-az) ^{URU}*Ka-ra-aḫ-na*: The Protective Deity of Karaḫna is a well-attested god,³⁷ but no character can be established for him,³⁸ due to the nature of his appearances, which are chiefly in lists of gods. For the city Karaḫna, see now del Monte, RG 6, 177–80, and Otten/Röllig, RIA V, 403, both with citations of earlier literature. While some have located this town in the region of the upper Euphrates,³⁹ I prefer von Schuler's suggestion that it lay on the middle course of the Çekerek,⁴⁰ since this better accords with the evidence of the "Annals of Muṣili II" and the "Apology of Ḫattušili III" and also situates Karaḫna near the other cities mentioned in this ritual.

obv. 12. [*ḫa-d*]u-ga-ša-a-z ^d*Te-li-pi-nu-uš* ^{URU}*Ta-a-ú-ni-ya-(aš)*: Archi suggests the restoration [^d*Ša⁷-u*]š-ga-ša-a-z,⁴¹ which is to be rejected because a Hurrian deity such as Šaušga would be out of place in this Hattic milieu, and in addition, nowhere else in this paragraph is more than one god found in a single city. My restoration involves the adjective *ḫatuka*,⁴² "fearsome, awesome," which is attested elsewhere as a divine epithet: KBo XXII 107 I 7 ([*ḫa-du-ga-an* ^dIM-an) and KBo XXVI 96:8 (^d*Aš-da-pi-iš ḫa-du-ga-aš* DINGIR ^{LIM}-i[š]).

The association of Telepinu, the well-known weather and vegetation god of Hattic origin,⁴³ with the city of Tawiniya is also attested at VI 45 II 46.^{43a}

36 See IX 3 I 19: ^d*Ḫa-te-pi-nu-un-na* DAM ^d*Te-li-pi-nu*.

37 For a list of passages in which he appears, see Dinçol/Darga, *Anatolica* 3, 1969/70, 112. To this list should be added the Egyptian language version of the Ḫattušili III/Ramses II treaty—see ANET² 201, nn. 16–17.

38 The argumentation presented by Kammenhuber, ZA 66, 1976, 72, does not support her contention that ^dKAL/^dLAMÁ invariably represents a Hurrian deity, and the evidence of this text suggests that at least ^dLAMÁ ^{URU}*Karaḫna* was a Hattic divinity.

39 E.g., Dinçol/Darga, *Anatolica* 3, 1969/70, 118, place it in the neighborhood of Šamuḫa, which, according to the general opinion of Hittitologists—see del Monte, RG 6, 339f.—is itself to be sought somewhere on the upper reaches of the Euphrates.

40 Kašik 47, n. 303. See also Güterbock, JNES 20, 1961, 95–96. Both authors deal chiefly with the city of Taggašta, but the localization of Karaḫna is a closely related problem—cf. the "Apology of Ḫattušili III" II 31 ff.

41 SMEA 1, 1966, 113, followed by del Monte, RG 6, 66, 256, 417.

42 Although Friedrich, HW¹ 67, and Sommer, OLZ 1953, 12, believe that the *i*-stem *ḫatuki* is the basic form of this adjective, Tischler, KZ 92, 1978, 108–10, has demonstrated the primacy of the *a*-stem.

43 See Laroche, Rech 34–35, and Güterbock, FsFriedrich 207–11.

43a See now also Kühne, ZA 70, 1981, 101.

Tawiniya, an important town already in the Old Assyrian period,⁴⁴ was located in the vicinity of 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶. The movements of the sacred fleece during the AN.TA.Ĥ.ŠUM^{SAR} festival indicate that Tawiniya must have been situated within a day's journey of the capital,⁴⁵ and the mention of a KÁ.GAL^{TIM} ŠA^{URU} Ta-ú-i-ni-ya,⁴⁶ "Tawinian gate," on the northern⁴⁷ side of 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 determines in which direction one must look.

obv. 13. [^dĤ]u-uzⁱ-zi-ya-ša-az^{URU} 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶-ak-mi-iš-ša: 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 is also a Hattic deity,⁴⁸ and is associated with Telepinu in the ritual VBoT 128 (II 16–17).⁴⁹ ^dĤu-uz-zi is found at XLV 55 obv. 9'; KBo XI 1 obv. 4; and KBo XVII 98 rev. 26', but all of these contexts reflect Hurrian influence, and it is uncertain if the same deity is intended as in Text A.⁵⁰

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶, which also appears as 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶,⁵¹ is discussed fully by Haas, RIA IV, 49f.⁵² Situated somewhere near the lower course of the Kızıl Irmak, 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 was closely associated with the religious center of Nerik and its Hattic pantheon.⁵³

obv. 14. For DINGIR.MA.Ĥ, see below, pp. 239ff. I have postulated the omission of a sign in <NAM.>DUMU.LÚ.UL^{LU} because the mention of the entire human race, rather than of a single mortal, seems more appropriate here. This is not crucial, however, for as it stands unemended the text may be construed as referring to the individual new-born.⁵⁴

obv. 17. Although the Sumerogram NU.GÁL usually appears without complementation and stands simply for Hittite *natta*,⁵⁵ NU.GÁL-*an* here is proba-

44 Known as Tamnia, it was the site of a *kārum*—see L. Orlin, *Assyrian Colonies in Cappadocia* (The Hague, 1970), p. 85. For spellings of the name of this city in all periods, see StBoT 17, 39, and, in general, see now del Monte, RG 6, 416–18.

45 See KBo X 20 I 24–28. These lines, as restored from the duplicates, are transliterated by Güterbock in JNES 19, 1960, 81.

46 XV 31 I 13–14.

47 See Güterbock, JNES 20, 1961, 86–87.

48 See Laroche, Rech 81, and NH 288.

49 Both of these deities lent their names to kings of the Hittite Old Kingdom, and 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶(ya) also appears as a proper name in the records of the Old Assyrian trading settlements—see StBoT 17, 59, and Garelli, AC 143.

50 See already Houwink ten Cate, RHA 81, 1967, 120.

51 For the *m/p* alternation, see Goetze, Madd 112, and von Schuler, Kašk 101.

52 See also del Monte, RG 6, 65–67.

53 The character of this group of deities is shown by the discussion of Haas, KN 67ff.

54 Cf. Text C rev. 4', 10'.

55 See StBoT 23, 165, n. 21.

bly to be understood as a participle—in this case nom./acc.sg.n., in agreement with ^{GIŠ}*luttai*.⁵⁶ The Hittite reading is perhaps either *natta ašan*⁵⁷ or **wak-karan*, from *wakkar-*, “be lacking.”

obv. 18. The restoration [^{GIŠ}*ku-ra-a*]*k-ki-aš pi-e-ta-an* is not certain, but very likely in a context which apparently deals with the parts of a building. Cf. the building ritual KBo IV 1 obv. 4 for another attestation of ^{GIŠ}*kurakkiaš peda-*, and for the translation “pillar,” see Laroche, Ugar V 777.

Due to its fragmentary state, § 4 of this ritual is difficult to interpret, but it is possible that a correlation is drawn here between the condition of some building (a temple of Ḫannaḫanna?) and that of either the mother or the child. Compare again the building ritual KBo IV 1:

And as the four cornerstones of the building
are firm [on the earth⁷], and (as) they are not
(over)turned, so likewise in the future let not
the well-being [of the sacrificer] be (over)turned
before the gods! (obv. 14–16)⁵⁸

⁵⁶ This noun is neuter in the singular, yet common gender in the plural—see CHD III, 88.

⁵⁷ Hittite *eš-* = Akkadian *bašû*—see HW¹ 42. Compare also XIV 8 rev. 29': *a-ša-a-na-at i-ya-nu-na-at*, “it is true (lit. ‘it exists’), I have done it,” with rev. 15' of the same text: *e-eš-zi-ya-at i-[y]a-u-e-na-at*.

⁵⁸ 14. *nu-wa-aš-ša-an ŠA Ê^{MEŠ} ma-aḫ-ḫa-an 4 ḫal-ḫal-tu-ma-r[i]-i-e-e[š ta-a-ga-an?]*
15. *uk-tu-u-ri-i-e-eš nu-wa-ra-at-kán Ū-UL ú-e-ḫa-an-da-ri [nu ŠA EN.SISKUR.SIS-KUR]*

16. *aš-šu-ul PA-NI DINGIR^{MEŠ} I-NA EGIR.UD^{MI} QA-TAM-MA li-e ú-e-iḫ-zi*

- I × × × [*ki-e-iz*]
 2'. *ki-e-iz-zi-y[a*
e-ša-ri^a da-g[a-a-an[?]
 4'. *nu-uš-ša-an DUMU-aš kat-[ta ma-uš-zi[?]*
-
- 2 ^{GIŠ}GİR.GUB^{HI.A b} ŠI-IH-R[U-TI
 6'. *nu A-NA SAL 1 ^{GIŠ}GİR.GUB ha-[an-te-iz-zi-ya-az ki-it-ta]*
 1 ^{GIŠ}GİR.GUB-*ma-aš-ši ap-pí-[iz-zi-ya-az ki-it-ta]*
 8'. *[nu-]za-an ^{SAL.MEŠ}ŠÀ.ZU^{TIM} e-š[a-an-ta-ri]*
-
- [*k*]u-it-ma-an-ma-az SAL-za ú-i-[ú-i-iš-ki-iz-zi nu ^{SAL}ŠÀ.ZU]
 10'. *hu-uk-k[i-]iš-ki-iz-zi ŠI-PÁT ú-i-[ú-i-iš-ki-u-wa-aš]*
ma-a-an-za SAL-za ku-wa-pi ú-i-ú-i-i[š-ki-u-wa-an da-a-i nu ^{SAL}ŠÀ.ZU]
 12'. *hu-uk-ki-iš-k[i-]iz-zi IŠ-TU 1[?] TUP-PÍ-m[a*
nu hu-uk-mi-ya-aš DUB^{HI.A.TIM} ar-ḫa-y[a-an]
-
- 14'. SAL-za-ma-az ku-wa-pí ú-i-ú-i-iš-ki-u-wa-an d[a-a-i]
 DUMU-an pí-ra-an kq-ru-ú ḫa-an-da-a-an-zi D[UMU-aš-ma]
 16'. *a-pí-e-da-ni ITU-mi a-pí-e-da-aš UD^{HI.A}-aš mi-y[aⁱ-ri]*
na-an pí-ra-an kq-ru-ú ḫa-an-da-a-an ḫar-kán-z[i]
-
- 18'. [*k*]u-it-ma-an-ma-az [SA]L-za nu-u-wa ú-i-ú-i-iš-ki-iz-z[i]
nu UDU.U_× ("SÍG.SAL") ku-iš ḫa-an-da-a-an-za ma-a-an ar-ma-u-wa-
a[n-za]
 20'. [*m*]a-a-an ša-an-na-pí-li-iš na-an-kán É.ŠÀ-ni
an-da-an u-un-ni-ya-an-zi ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma-az SAL-za ḫa-q-[ši]
 22'. DUMU-aš ma-uš-zi a-pu-u-un-ma-kán UDU.U_× A-NA SAĀ A-[NA
 SAG.DU-ŠU[?]]
 3-ŠU wa-aḫ-nu-an-zi ^{SAL}ŠÀ.ZU-ma-kán an-da [*ki-iš-ša-an*]
 24'. [*me-m*]i-iš-ki-iz-zi
-
- [a-pu-]un¹⁷-wa-kán SAL-an ku-i-e-eš kat-ta[
 26'. [] × -an-za-an-kán ar-ḫa[
 [na-a]t¹⁷ SAL-an ar-ḫa tar-na-a[n-du]
-
- 28'. [] × × × SAG.D[U

a. the RI is followed by two small Winkelhakens

b. erasure follows

- [... on one side]
 2'. and on the other side [...]
 § 1' sits. (On?) the ear[th? ...]
 4'. Then the child [falls (i.e., is born)? ...]
-
- § 2' Two smal[l] footstools [they bring?].
 6'. And one footstool [is placed] in fr[ont] of the woman,
 while the other footstool [is placed] be[hind] her.
 8'. [Then] the midwives se[at] themselves.
-
- § 3' But while the woman cri[es] out in labor, then the midwife]
 10'. conjures repeatedly "The Incantation of Cry[ing Out]."
 At the time when the woman [begins] to cr[y] out in labor, then the mid-
 wife]
 12'. conjures repeatedly. But from one tablet [...]
 And the tablets of incantation are sep[arate].
-
- 14'. But at the point when the woman be[gins] to cry out in labor,
 § 4' (then for) the child they have already made prior preparations. The
 ch[ild]
 16'. in that month, on those days, will be b[orn].
 And her (the mother) they have already prepared.
-
- 18'. But while the [wom]an is still crying out,
 § 5' then a ewe which has been prepared—either pregn[ant]
 20'. or not—into the inner chamber
 they drive. But when the woman gives bir[th] (and)
 22'. the child is falling (i.e., being born), then this ewe (over) the woman,
 o[ver her head?],
 three times they swing. And the midwife meanwhile
 24'. [s]peaks [as follows]:
-
- § 6' "Whatever [evils? th]is? woman [afflict?],
 26'. ... her away [...]
 [And] may [they] relea[se] the woman!"
-
- 28'. [...] ... head [...]

- IV [] × Tl-t[ar
 2'. ^{NA4}h^é-kur kⁱ-×[

 nu-wa ki-e-da-ni[DUMU-lⁱ?
 4'. ^{NA4}h^é-kur (SAG.)UŠ ga-×[
 ku-it kat-ta-a[n
 6'. Tl-an h^{ar}-ten nu-w[a(-) h^{ar}-te[n

 nu-wa-kán u-wa-a[t-te-]in ^{NA4}h^é-kur-[wa-kán ma-ab-ha-an]
 8'. h^u-wa-an-za h^é-e-[uš-š]a pí-e-di Ū-UL n[i-ni-in-kán-zi]
 ki-e-da-ša-wa k[u-i]t¹⁷ kat-ta-an mi-ya-ti nu-[uš-ši-kán Tl-tar⁷]
 10'. i-da-a-la-u-wa-an-z[a] ud-da-na-an-za pí-e-di QA-TAM-M[A li-e]
 ni-ni-ik-zi n[a-a]t QA-TAM-MA pa-ab-ha-aš-nu-an^a e-[eš-tu]
 12'. na-at uk-tu-u-rⁱ Tl-an e-eš-tu

 nu ma-a-an DUMU.NI[TA k]u-wa-pí mi-ya-ri nu ^{SAL}Š^Š.ZU k[i-iš-ša-an]
 14'. te-iz-zi ka-a-[ša-w]a kⁱ-nu-un ŠA DUMU.NITA a-aš-šu-u ú-da-[ab-hu-
 un]
 pa-ra-a-ma-wa M[U-an-]ni ŠA DUMU.SAL a-aš-šu-u ú-da-al-lu

 16'. ma-a-an DUMU.S[AL-ma] nu ki-iš-šq-an te-iz-zi ki-nu-u[n-wa]
 kq-a-ša [ŠA DUMU.SA]L a-aš-šu-u ú-da-ab-hu-un pa-ra-a-ma-[wa]
 18'. MU-an-ni [ŠA DUMU.NI]TA a-aš-šu-u ú-da-al-lu

 [DUB.N.KAM ma-ab-ha-a]n SAL-za h^a-a-ši Ū-UL QA-TI
 20'. [A-WA-AT¹Tu₄-n]a-wi-ya ^{SAL}Š^Š.ZU
 [^{ME}Š⁷-aš h^u-u-ma-an-da-aš
 22'. []

 [-š/t]a ^{SAL.ME}Š^Š.ZU TIM

Commentary

The preserved portion of this text deals specifically with parturition. In §§ 1'–2' the necessary apparatus and its positioning are detailed, § 3' prescribes the recitation of a certain incantation to ease the pain of the mother in labor, and § 5' describes a magical operation and an incantation for the moment of delivery. The obverse of the tablet breaks off in the middle of this

a. erasure follows

- [...] lif[e ...]
 2'. the rock sanctuary [...]
-
- § 9'' "And to this [child² ...]
 4'. the (eter)nal rock sanctuary [...]
 which down [...]
 6'. keep alive!, and [... k]ee[p!]
-
- § 10'' "And co[m]e! [As] the rock sanctuary
 8'. the wind and ra[in] cannot [lift from] its place—
 because² in this (house) he was born—
 10'. likewis[e] let [not] an evil thing lift [his life²]
 from its place! And let it likewise [be] protected!
 12'. And let it be alive for eternity!"
-
- § 11'' And if a ma[le] child is then born, then the midwife th[us]
 14'. speaks: "Loo[k!] Now I have brou[ght] the goods of a male child.
 But next y[ea]r I will certainly bring the goods of a female child!"
-
- 16'. If it is a fema[le] child, then she speaks thus: "Now—
 § 12'' look!—the goods [of a fema]le [child] I have brought. But next
 18'. year the goods [of a ma]le [child] I will certainly bring!"
-
- § 13'' [Tablet N—"When" a Woman Gives Birth." Incomplete.
 20'. [Word of Tun]awiya, the midwife,
 [] to/of all [...]
 22'. []
-
- § 14'' [] the mid[wives ...]

incantation, and the preserved paragraphs of the reverse pick up again midway through an incantation on behalf of the child (§§ 8''–10''). Then a speech by the midwife seeking the continued fertility of the mother is presented (§§ 11''–12''). It is interesting to note that in these concluding paragraphs a wish is expressed that the mother's next pregnancy should result in the birth of a child of the sex opposite to that of the child just born. No preference for male children is evidenced here.

The colophon (IV 19'–22') indicates that the text is not complete on this tablet, and one may speculate that the composition continued with rites to be

carried out during the early infancy of the new-born. Since in IV 19' the number of the tablet within the composition has been lost, it is also possible that it was preceded by other material detailing the regimen for pregnancy, but the title, "When a Woman Gives Birth," makes this unlikely.

An attribution of this text to a specific cultural group within Hatti is difficult—there are no deities or foreign words in the preserved portion of the text to aid in this task. From content alone, one might be tempted to assign it to the Hattic sphere, due to the parallels between its first two paragraphs and the initial portion of Text A,⁵⁹ but on the other hand, the name of the probable author of the text, [Tun]awiya, points to a Hurro-Luwian milieu.⁶⁰

This text exhibits two older grammatical features: the use of the voiceless CV sign TU instead of the voiced DU in *e-eš-tu* (IV 12'),⁶¹ and the alternation in the orthography of the verbal ending *-ten* between *-TEN* (*ḫar-ten*, IV 6') and *-TE-IN* (*u-wa-a[t-te]-in*, IV 7').⁶² This last characteristic indicates a Middle Hittite date of composition, and the absence of any late sign forms⁶³ shows that the tablet itself was probably inscribed in this period, or at least before the middle of the fourteenth century.

I 2'ff. §§ 1'–2' here, in which a birth apparatus consisting chiefly of stools is prepared by the practitioners, closely resemble in content §§ 1–2 of Text A. The wording of the two texts, however, is different, suggesting separate efforts at expressing in writing the same folk practices. Although the present passage cannot completely be restored utilizing the evidence of Text A, a comparison is nonetheless of value: *da-g[a-a-an]* is tentatively restored in I 3' on the model of *[t]a-ga-a-an* in Text A obv. 5, and the restoration DUMU-*aš kat-[ta ma-uš-zi]* in I 4' receives support from DUMU-*aš-ša-an ku-wa-pi kat-ta ma-uš-zi* in Text A obv. 5, as well as from DUMU-*aš ma-uš-zi* in I 22' of the present text.

I 8'. The appearance of more than one midwife⁶⁴ in this text is unusual, but it is undoubtedly the author [Tun]awiya herself who performs the recitations so central among the activities of this text (§§ 3', 5'ff.). The other midwives presumably aid in carrying out the ceremony involving the swinging of the ewe (§ 5').

⁵⁹ See immediately below.

⁶⁰ See below, pp. 40f.

⁶¹ See Carruba, ZDMGSuppl I, 1969, 235, with n. 31.

⁶² See Houwink ten Cate, Records 49ff., with Diagrams 14 and 15, Kempinski/Košak, WO 5, 1969/70, 209, and StBoT 11, 11, n. 2.

⁶³ Note also the archaic form of ḪAR in IV 6'.

⁶⁴ For ^{SAL}ŠA.ZU, "midwife," see below, pp. 232–35.

I 10'. ŠI-PÁT ú-i-[ú-i-iš-ki-u-wa-aš] is restored on analogy with [EZEN (ú-e-ú-)] e-eš-ki-u-wa-aš, "[Festival] of Crying Out," Text Y II 4'. For the onomatopoeic verb *wiwai-/wiwišk-*—cries *uwau* and *wiwi* are attested—see StBoT 7, 12–13.

In one of the birth scenes of the "Kingship in Heaven" myth,⁶⁵ the verb *wiwai-* is also prominently employed. KUB XXXIII 119 + 120 IV 12'–18'⁶⁶ reads:

- 12'. ^aA-a-aš-ša ha-at'-ta-an-[na-aš LUGAL-uš ITU^{MEŠ}]
 13'. [ka]p-pu-iš-ki-iz-zi ITU.1.KAM IT[U.2.KAM ITU.3.KAM pa-it]
 14'. [IT]U.4.KAM ITU.5.KAM ITU.6.KAM pa-it [ITU.7.KAM]
 15'. ITU.8.KAM IT[U.]9.KAM pa-it nu' ITU.10.KA[M ti-ya-at nu I-NA]
 16'. ITU.10.KAM KI-aš ú-i-ú-e-iš-k[i-u-wa-an da-a-iš]

17'. ma-a-an-za KI-aš ú-i-ú-i-iš-ki-it ×[

18'. DUMU^{MEŠ}-uš ha-aš-tq

Ea, [the king] of wis[dom], counted [the months]—The first month, [the second] mon[th, the third month passed]. The fourth [mo]nth, the fifth month, the sixth month passed. [The seventh month], the eighth month, the ninth mon[th] passed, and the ten[th] month [arrived. And in] the tenth month the Earth [began] to cr[ie] out].

When the Earth cried out [...] she gave birth to children.

The trilingual lexical text KBo I 44 + KBo XIII 1⁶⁷ presents in line I 40 the equation of Akkadian *ĦA-A-LU*, "to be in labor,"⁶⁸ with Hittite *ú-i-wi-iš-kat-tal-la-aš*, "the crier out" = "woman in labor." The fact that a *nomen actoris*⁶⁹ derived from the durative stem of *wiwai-* here designates the mother-to-be, taken together with the importance of this verb in XXXIII 119+, indicates that the crying out of the woman was considered a normal, and indeed characteristic, feature of childbirth.⁷⁰ Note, however, that *wiwiškattalla-* does not appear in any of the texts edited in this work.

65 See above, p. 7.

66 Note also II 54 where the pregnant Kumarbi *ú-e-iš-ki-u-wa-an da-a-iš*.

67 See StBoT 7, 10.

68 As von Soden, StBoT 7, 12, points out, the presence in I 39 of *ZĀBU*, "to dissolve," shows that the Hittite scholar here has misinterpreted an intended *ĦĀLU* A, "to be liquified," as *ĦĀLU* > *ĦĀLU* C, "to be in labor."

69 See HE I² § 46b.

70 See below, pp. 223, 227.

I 13'. For a discussion of the practice, relatively uncommon at Hattuša, of inscribing incantations on tablets separate from those detailing the rituals in which they were to be employed, see Otten, Luv, 17, with n. 3, and BiOr 8, 1951, 230, n. 51.⁷¹ In the present text, however, an incantation is presented in §§ 6' ff.

I 15'. Context makes it clear that the adverb *piran* here and in I 17' is to be understood in a temporal rather than a spatial sense. Note the use of the present *handanzi* with the adverb *karu* in I 15', contrasting with that of the present perfect *handan harkanzi* in I 17'. See Neu, StBoT 18, 104, for this problem of tense.

I 16'. For the Middle voice of *miya-* as "be born," see most recently StBoT 5, 117, with n. 8, and cf. the lexical entry KBo XIII 2 obv. 9':]-LU²-A-RU = DUMU-aš ku-wa-pi mi-ya-ri nu a-iš ar-ha e-ip-zi, "when a child is born and holds the mouth away,"^{71a} an apparent reference to the refusal of the infant to suck at the breast.

I 19'. UDU.U_x: "SÍG.SAL" is apparently a Boğazköy transformation of U₈,⁷² but since it differs so greatly in form from the Mesopotamian shape, I have transcribed it simply as U_x.⁷³

Otten has already transliterated and translated I 19'–23' in BiOr 8, 1951, 230.

I 22'. Kammenhuber, THeth 7, 128, puts forth the reading ^{SAL}ha- for the signs immediately preceding the break, suggesting a phonetic spelling ^{SAL}ha[š-šanupala-] here, beside ^{SAL(MEŠ)}ŠĀ.ZU^(TIM) (I 8', 23'). However, the clear space between SAL and the following traces does not favor this interpretation, and it must also be noted that nowhere else in the corpus of birth rituals do the phonetic and logographic writings of "midwife" occur in the same text.

I 25'. [a-pu-]un⁷³ is uncertain, especially in view of the plene writing a-pu-u-un in I 22', but for the shorter spelling see HW² 134.

IV 4'. A reading ^{NA4}hé-kur-uš is possible here, but since all other occurrences of this word show a consonantal stem ^{NA4}hekur, I read ^{NA4}hé-kur (SAG.)UŠ. The Sumerogram SAG.UŠ, which stands for Hittite *ukturi-*, "enduring, eternal," is attested with ^{NA4}hekur also at KBo XII 38 II 17', 18', IV 3' and KUB XXI 33 IV² 23. The use of this adjective is appropriate here in an incantation

71 Cf. also Text K obv. 13, 45, 46, rev. 35.

71a See Hoffner, BiOr 35, 1978, 244.

72 So according to the opinion of M. Civil, kindly communicated to me by H. G. Güterbock in a letter of 5.XII.77.

73 For the reading "u" rather than "ganam," see MSL II, 102.

where the resistance of the ^{NA4}*hekur* to natural forces is stressed. (Note also the use of the adverb *ukturi* in IV 12'.) For ^{NA4}*hekur*, "peak, rock sanctuary," see Otten, MDOG 94, 1963, 18ff., Güterbock, JNES 26, 1967, 81, and Imparati, SMEA 18, 1977, 19–64.⁷⁴

IV 6'. For TI-*an* *hark-*, "keep alive," cf. the blessings from the letters Mšt 75/43 rev. 21 (Alp, Maşat 1978, 187): *nu-ut-ta* DINGIR^{MEŠ} TI-*an* *har-kán-du*, and Mšt 75/64 obv. 5 (Alp, Maşat 1978, 190): *nu-uš-ma-aš* LI-IM DINGIR^{MEŠ} TI-*an* *har-[kán]-du*, as well as KUB XV 1120f.: EN-YA ^dUTU^{ŠU} TI-*nu-an* *har-ti*, "you, My Lord, keep His Majesty alive."

IV 7'ff. The subject of the second person plural imperative *uwa[tte]n* is presumably the deities in whose presence the ritual is carried out. *pidi* ... *n[ininkan-zi]* is restored on analogy with IV 10'–11', and the sentence-particle *-kan* is included in both IV 7' and IV 9' on the model of KUB I 1 II 52–53 (Goetze, Hatt 20):

nam-ma-kán DINGIR^{MEŠ} URU *Ha-at-ti* GIDIM^{HIA} *-ya pí-di ni-ni-ik-ta*
na-aš I-NA ^{URU} *dU-aš-ša kat-ta pí-e-da-aš*

Further he (Muwatalli) removed the gods of Hatti, together with the *manes*, and he took them down to the city of Tarhuntašša.

For the expression *pidi ninink-*, see Goetze, Madd 115–16.⁷⁵

Rock serving as a symbol of permanence⁷⁶ in an incantation is attested also at KBo XV 10 II 5–6:

k[i-i] ^{NA4}*pi-e-ru ma-a-ab-ha-an uk-tu-u-ri* BE-LU Û DAM-ZU
DUM[U^{MEŠ}-š]U QA-TAM-MA *uk-tu-u-ri-eš a-ša-an-du*

As th[is] rock is eternal, let the sacrificer and his wife (and) [h]is child[ren] likewise be eternal!

And the *topos* of erosion, the continuing battle between the elements and the earth, is found in the "Song of Ullikummi" Tablet II B III 9'–11' (JCS 6, 1952, 14f.):

ku-e-eš-kán A-NA 90 IKU-*ni* ^{NA4}*pi-ru-ni-[iš?]*
pár-aš-ša-nu-uš-kán-zi 8 ME-*ma wa-aš-ša-an-zi* *hé-e-uš*
IM^{MEŠ}-*uš* *hal-zi-ya-an-du*

⁷⁴ The present text is omitted from the list of passages containing ^{NA4}*hekur* presented on pp. 63f.

⁷⁵ To the passages there cited, add KBo II 11 obv. 11'f.; XXX 65 + + obv. 12; XXX 56 III 15 (*pí-e-da-az ni-ni-in-kán-zi*); and XLIV 33 I 4' (^dU *pí-di ni-ni-in-ku-wa-aš*).

⁷⁶ Another analogic incantation involving the word *ukturi*, this time in reference to an *eya-tree*, is XXIX 1 rev. 17–21—see Haas, AF 5, 1977, 269.

Those things which to a distance of 90 furlongs⁷ break the ro[cks], but (to a distance of) 800 (furlongs) cover (them)—the winds and the rains let them call!

IV 9'. It is in this portion of the text that the fragments KBo XVII 62 and 63 are to be joined. KBo XVII 63 x+1 is the same line of the tablet as KBo XVII 62 IV 6'. In KBo XVII 62 IV 12' = 63:7' the remains of a single RI-sign have been preserved on both fragments.

In IV 9' we are probably dealing with an elipsis involving the noun modified by the dat./loc.pl. demonstrative pronoun *kedaš*, that is, perhaps *kedaš* (*par-naš*), "these (rooms)" = "this (house)." ⁷⁷

IV 10'. For the "ergative" ⁷⁸ expression *idalauwant-uddanant-*, cf. KUB XV 1 II 32f.: *nu* ⁹UTU⁸¹ *ḪUL-u-wa-an-za ud-da-na-an-za an-da Ḫ-UL ku-iš-ki KAR-zi*, "No evil matter will befall His Majesty."

IV 13'ff. Exactly what articles are referred to by the phrases "goods⁷⁹ of the male child" and "goods of the female child" in §§ 11'–12' is uncertain, since they are mentioned nowhere else in the preserved text. It is tempting to think here of the classic Hittite symbols for masculinity and femininity,⁸⁰ that is, bow and arrows on the one hand, and spindle (with or without an accompanying distaff) on the other. Such articles might have been presented to the child at birth in order to confer ritually the proper sexual role.

Note the use of the first person singular imperative *ú-da-al-lu* as a volative in IV 15' and 18'—see HE I² §263 b.

IV 20'. That [⁸*Tu₄-n*]*a-wí-ya* is the correct restoration here, and that the author of this ritual is the same woman who composed the well-known text edited by Goetze and Sturtevant (CTH 409) ⁸¹ is made likely by the concern of both rituals with human reproduction.⁸² Another ritual authored by this woman is referred to in the catalogue text KUB XXX 57 + 59 I 5'–7'; ⁸³

First tablet. The Word of Tunnawiya, the Old Woman: "When I Invoke the Dead"—Incomplete; we have not yet found its last tablet. ⁸⁴

While the Hittite librarians were unable to locate the last portion of this work, we today are in possession of none of it. Its evident concern with the chthonic,

⁷⁷ See below, pp. 171 f.

⁷⁸ See Laroche, BSL 57, 1962, 23–43.

⁷⁹ For the writing *a-aš-šú-u*, see StBoT 11, 19.

⁸⁰ See Hoffner, JBL 85, 1966, 330 ff., Goetze, Kleinasien² 156, and Oettinger, StBoT 22, 75–76.

⁸¹ See Tunn.

⁸² See above, pp. 18 f.

⁸³ See now also Kammenhuber, THeth 7, 124.

⁸⁴ For a transcription, see below, p. 164.

however, is shared by the final ritual attributed to Tun(n)awiya—KBo XXI 1–6. The introduction to the first of the tablets making up this latter composition reads:

[U]M-MA ^{tu}*na-na-wi-ya* ^{SAL}ŠU.G[^I85 ^{URU}] *Ḫa-[a]t-ti*
 [G]IM-an-kán LUGAL SAL.LUGAL *ták-na-a-az da-ab-bi nu ki-i da-ab-bi*
 (KBo XXI 1 I 1–2⁸⁶)

[Th]us says Tunawiya, the Old Woma[n] of Ḫattuša—When I take the king (and) queen from the earth, then the following things I take:

There follows a lengthy list of necessary provisions, chiefly baked goods.

Although no details are provided in the scanty material now available, “taking the king (and) queen from the earth” must be a symbolic action of some sort, thought to bring the power of the deified rulers of the past to bear upon the problems of a sufferer in the present. This interpretation fits well with the other chthonic elements here—note the presence throughout the composition of *taknaš* ⁴UTU, “the Sun-goddess of the Earth”⁸⁷ (e.g., KBo XXI 1 III 8’, 11’), and the operations carried out in regard to the storage vessel(s) (ARÀḪ^{BLA}, KBo XXI 1 III 9’; KBo XXI 5 rev.⁷ 2’, 4’). In any case, the concern of Tun(n)awiya with both reproduction and death is apparent.⁸⁸

The name Tun(n)awiya is probably Luwian, meaning “the woman of Dunna,”⁸⁹ referring to a city in the Lower Land, near Tarḫuntašša,⁹⁰ and an ultimate origin in this area—note that in KBo XXI 1 I 1 she is called “the Old Woman of Ḫattuša”—would not be surprising for a practitioner employing Hurrian and Luwian elements in her work, as does our author—see especially the Luwian speech in KUB VII 53+ I 58–59.⁹¹

85 Space will not permit the additional restoration of KUR here.

86 Cf. also IX 34 IV 23–25 (colophon): DUB.2.KAM *Ú-U[L QA-TI]*
ma-a-an-kán LUGAL SAL.[LUGAL]
^{SAL}ŠU.GI *ták-na-az [da-a-i]*

87 See below, p. 54.

88 Compare the responsibilities of the *patili*-priest—see below, pp. 236–38.

89 For the difficulties involved in the interpretation of the suffix *-wiya*, see Laroche, NH 325–26, 345.

90 For the location of ^{URU}Dunna, see del Monte, RG 6, 439.

91 As for the dates of the texts involved, KBo XXI 1 and 6 show sign shapes comparable to those of Text B, while KBo XXI 2, 3, 4, and 5 are too small to allow a judgment. For CTH 409, on the other hand, VII 53+ and the fragment XXXIX 65 display NH script and orthography, but the great number of errors in the main text demonstrates that it is a copy. An early fourteenth-century date for the woman Tun(n)awiya is thus not excluded.

Text C = KBo XVII 61

- Obv. [*ḫa-aš-š*] *a-an-na-aš-ša-aš*
 2. [] × ŠA.BA 1 GIŠ[
 [] × × [*š*] *e-e-ir ki-×* [^a
-
4. [*nu-u*] *š-ša*¹⁷ *-an ka-a-ya 1 EM-ŠU* *kī-it-ta*
 [] *ta-ra-ša-aš ḫu-iš-wa-an-za*
 6. [] 1 GÍR TUR ZABAR 4 KAK ZABAR ×?
-
- [*DUMU-an ku-]* *wa-pí an-da-an ša-al-la-nu-uš-ki-mi*
 8. [] × ^{LÜ}AZU ^{LÜ}Ü ^{LÜ}MUŠEN.DÜ *pí-an-zi*
 [] *ḫu-u-uš-ta-an še-e-ir ar-ḫa wa-aḫ-nu-uš-ki-iz-zi*
-
10. [] *nu-mu-kán* ^{SAL}*ḫa-aš-nu-up-pa-al-la-aš*
[ki-iš-ša-an te-iz-zi? DUMU?-a]n?-wa-az ^{SAL}*ḫa-aš-nu-up-pa-al-la-aš ḫa-*
a-aš-ḫu-un
 12. [*-š/t*] *a-at nu-mu ma-a-an DUMU-an pa-ra-a pí-an-zi*
[nu ki-i i-ya-mi ma-a-n]a-an-kán KA×U-ŠU *ša-aḫ-mi na-aš ma-a-an*
 14. [*ḫu-iš-wa-an-na-aš na-an ḫa-ad-du*¹⁷ *-l]* *a-aḫ-ḫi ma-a-na-aš* ^Ü*-UL-ma ḫu-*
iš-wa-an-na-aš
[na-an *še-]* *e-ir-ma-mu DUMU É.GAL ar-ta ma-a-na-an-kán*
KA×U-ŠU *ša-aḫ-mi*
-
16. [*nu-kán ta-ra-ša-a*] *n a-pát-ta pí-da-aḫ-ḫi nu* ^{GIŠ}*kur-ta-al-li*^{H1A} *ki-it-ta*
 [] × *e-ik-za iš-pár-ra-an-za na-aš-ta DUMU-an* ^{GIŠ}*kur-ta-li-aš*
 18. [*-i*] ^{t2}*pár-ku-nu-mi nu-uš-še-eš-ta ta-ra-ša-an še-e-ir ar-ḫa wa-*
aḫ-nu-mi
[na-aš-ta SA]G.DU UR.BAR.RA-ma ar-ḫa wa-ar-nu-mi
-
20. [^{SAL}*ḫa-a-š*] *a*¹⁷ *-ú-wa-aš SAG.DU-ZU wa-ar-ḫp-mi nu-uš-ši SAL.*
 LUGAL
 [*w*] *a-aš-ši-iz-zi a-pí-el-ma-aš-ši-kán ar-ḫa da-a-aḫ-ḫi*
 22. [*nu-uš-ši-iš-š*] *a-an DUMU-an gi-nu-wa-aš-ša-aš te-eḫ*^b *-ḫi*
-
- [*n*] *u-uš-ši ḫu-i-šu wa-aš-ši ka-ru-ú pí-iḫ-ḫi wa-aš-ši-ma tar-*
za-aš
 24. [*-i*] *z-zi nu-uš-ši ú-wa-mi* ^{URUDU17}*PISAN*¹⁷ *-an wa-aš-ši nam-*
ma pí-iḫ-ḫi
 [] × *dā-q-aḫ-ḫi AN.T[Aḫ.ŠUMS]*^{AR} *ḫa-az-zu-w[a-n]i-iš*
 26. [] × [] × *DÜG KA.DÜ NAG*

a. obv. 1–3 are written on the upper edge

b. erasure follows

- § 1 [] of her [wo]mb⁷
2. [] among which one is of wood [...]
[] above [...]
-
4. [] And here also one (portion of) rennet is set.
- § 2 [] fresh *taraša*.
6. [] one small bronze knife (and) four bronze pegs.
-
- § 3 [] in [what]ever place I shall bring up [the child],
8. [] the diviner and the augur give.
[] the *hušt* (s)he swings overhead repeatedly.
-
10. [] and to me the midwife
- § 4 [says: "A child I, the midwife, have brought into the world!"]
12. [...] and when they hand the child over to me,
[I do the following: When] I cleanse his mouth, and he
14. [is going to live, then] I give [him health⁷]. If he is not going to live,
[then him I ...] But the palace functionary stands [o]ver me when I
cleanse his mouth.
-
16. [And the *taraš*]a I carry there, and the containers are placed.
- § 5 [And] the net is spread out. And the child on the containers
18. with [...] I purify. The *taraša* I swing over him.
[And] a wolf's [he]ad I burn up.
-
20. [And] I, the [Old] Woman⁷, wash his head, and for him the queen
- § 6 [in ...] dresses. But from that one I take away her own (clothes).
22. [And] I place the child on her⁷ knees.
-
- § 7 [... A]nd to him (the child) fresh medicine I have already given. But the
medicine ...
24. [...] (s)he [...] And I come (and) further, a copper box⁷ (and⁷) medicine
I give to him.
[...] I take: cr[ocu]s⁷, lettuce
26. [...] (and) one + vessel(s) of cheap beer for drinking.

- Rev. []-ši-it n[a²-
-
- 2'. []×-an pá-r-aḫ-du ša-[
[ma-ni-in-k]u-an-du-uš MU^{ḫ1.A}-uš KI.3 (=pár-aḫ-du)[
KI.4
- 4'. [A-NA DUMU.L]Ú.ULÚ^{LU}-ma ta-lu-ga-uš MU^{ḫ1.A}-uš pí-iš-ki²-
i]d²-du
[-d]u² ták-na-ša-at-za ^aUTU-uš ^{NA}pa-aš-ši-lu-ḫš i-e-id-du
- 6'. [na-at-ši-kán ar-ḫa²] da-a-ú¹
[]-mi nu ki-iš-ša-an ḫu-ik-mi ne-pí-ša-az-kán kát-ta ši-i-e-
eš-šar ši-ya-ti
- 8'. [ší²-y]a-ti nu I-NA TÜR pa-a-un na-aš-ta ^aIm-mar-ni-i MÁŠ.
GAL ú-ik-ku-un
[] × a-uš-ta ú-ga ^{SAL}ḫa-a-ša-ú-wa-aš IŠ-TU 10 ŠU.SI pa-ra-a
- 10'. [e-ip-mi nu² MÁŠ.GAL-a]n an-da A-NA DUMU.LÚ.ULÚ^{LU} I-NA 9
^{UZU}ÚR ap-pí-iš-ki-mi
-
- [IG]I^{ḫ1.A}-kán A-NA IGI^{ḫ1.A}-ŠU ḫa-an-da-a-an i-ni-ra-aš-
kán i-ni-ri KI.MIN (=ḫa-an-da-a-an)
- 12'. [KI.3] GEŠTU^{ḫ1.A}-kán A-NA GEŠTU^{ḫ1.A}-ŠU KI.4 KA×U^{ḫ1.A}-
kán A-NA KA×U-ŠU KI.5¹
[^{UZU}NÍG.GIG-kán A-NA ^{UZU}]NÍG.GIG KI.6 ZÉ¹-kán A-NA ZÉ KI.7 gi-
en-zu-kán
- 14'. [gi-en-zu-i]×-ti KI.8 za-aš-ga-ra-iš-kán za-aš-ga-ri-iš-ši KI.9¹
[]×-da-an-ni KI.10 ar-ki-i-e-eš^a-kán
- 16'. [ar-ki-ya-aš KI.11 gi-e-]nu-kán A-NA gi-nu-wa-aš KI.MIN GİR-kán A-
NA GİR KI.MIN
[-r]a-a-aš-ši-e¹-kán¹ zu-un-ti-iš-ta ḫu-ur-ta-li-iš-ša
-
- 18'. [] pá-r-ga-u-wa-aš HUR.SAG^{ḫ1.A}-aš pí-ḫu-te-iz-zi
[ták-na-aš² ^aUT]U-wa-aš ú-el-ku-wa^a pí-ḫu-te-iz-zi
- 20'. []×-id-du nu pa-id-du MÁŠ.GAL-aš ták-na-aš ^aUTU-i
[ták-n]a-aš² ^aUTU-i ^{GÍŠ}zu-up-pa-ri lu-uk-kán ḫar-du
-
- 22'. []MÁŠ.GAL-ma ar-ḫa ḫa-ap-pí-iš-na-mi
[za²-n]u-mi Û ALAM GÍŠ
- 24'. [ki-]e ar-ḫa wa-ar-nu-mi
-
- []× NI²

a. erasure follows

b. the paragraph stroke is double for the last third of its original length

(traces)

2'. ["...] let him chase! [...]

§ 9' [... sh]ort years, ditto 3, [... di]tto 4.

4'. But [to the mor]tal (i.e., the child) may he [continually giv]e long year[s]!

[...] May the Sun-goddess of the Earth turn them into pebbles!

6'. [And away from him] let him/her take [them]!"

§ 10' [Then] I [...] and I conjure as follows: "Down from the sky it flowed.

8'. [... it flow]ed." And into the pen I went, and I requested a male goat from Immarni

[...] he² saw. But I, the Old Woman, with ten fingers [reach²] out,

10'. [and the male go]at I repeatedly hold against the mortal on (each of) the nine body parts:

§ 11' [... e]yes are arranged against his eyes, eyebrow to eyebrow, ditto;

12'. [... ditto 3;] ears to his ears, ditto 4; mouths (*sic!*) to his mouth, ditto 5;

[liver to] liver, ditto 6; gall bladder to gall bladder, ditto 7; pelvis

14'. [to pelvis ...] ditto 8; anus² to anus², ditto 9;

[... to] ... ditto 10; testicles

16'. [to testicles, ditto 11; kn]ee to knees, ditto; foot to foot, ditto.

[...] ... *zuntišta* and malediction².

18'. [" [] to the high mountains he will carry off.

§ 12' [] to the grass of the [Sun-god]dess [of the Earth] he will carry off.

20'. [] let him [ta]ke², and let the male goat go to the Sun-goddess of the Earth!

[] to the Sun-goddess of the [Ea]rth let him hold a lighted torch!"

22'. [] the male goat I butcher.

§ 13' [] I [co]ok, and an image of wood

24'. [] these thi]ngs I burn up.

§ 14' (traces)

Commentary

This text appears to be one-columned, an impression strengthened by the fact that it begins on the upper edge of the tablet.⁹² If indeed this is the case, then the lines which have been preserved, however fragmentarily, represent approximately one-half of the original length of the text. This ritual composition is concerned with post-parturition activities on behalf of a mother and child within the royal family.⁹³ The chief ritual practitioner is seemingly a nurse—see below, pp. 48f. Among the actions included here are the determination of the fate of the child, along with a mouth-washing ceremony (§ 4), the changing of the mother's clothes (§ 6), the invocation of the Sun-goddess of the Earth (§ 9'), and a scapegoat ritual (§§ 10'–13'). The emphasis in the preserved portions of the text is upon purification from both physical uncleanness and evil influences.

Beginning on the upper edge of the tablet is a characteristic of older texts, and this tablet reveals numerous other archaic features:

1. the use of the enclitic adversative conjunction *-a*, “but,” in *ú-ga* (rev. 9'),⁹⁴
2. the presence of the enclitic possessive pronoun ([*ḫašš*]*annaš-šaš*, obv. 1, *genuwaš-šaš*, obv. 22),⁹⁵
3. the use of the terminative in *a* (*ú-el-ku-wa*, rev. 19'),⁹⁶
4. the employment of the sentence-particle *-(a)šta* (*nu=še=šta*, obv. 18),⁹⁷
5. the use of the correct nom. form *ug* (and not of the originally only dat./loc. form *ammuk*) of the 1.sg. independent personal pronoun (rev. 9'),⁹⁸
6. the use of the conjunction *mān* in both temporal and conditional functions (obv. 12, 13),⁹⁹

⁹² See Otten/Souček, StBoT 8, 12, n. 2.

⁹³ See below, p. 52, and Otten, Introduction to KBo XVII, v.

⁹⁴ A spelling *ú-ug-ga* would indicate the enclitic coordinate conjunction—see Houwink ten Cate, FsOtten 119–39.

⁹⁵ See HE I² § 106.

⁹⁶ See Houwink ten Cate, Records 22–23.

⁹⁷ See Carruba, ZDMGSuppl I, 1969, 236. Oettinger, StBoT 22, 67–70, has shown that texts which have *-(a)šta* in contexts other than *na-aš-ta* (here obv. 17 and rev. 8') must be considered no later than Middle Hittite in date of composition.

⁹⁸ See HE I² § 97.

⁹⁹ See Houwink ten Cate, Records 24–25.

7. the plene spelling *še-e-ir* (obv. 3, 9, 15, 18),¹⁰⁰
8. the spelling of the prs.3.sg. active *-iya*-verb ending with the vowel sequence *-i-i-*, and not with *-i-e-* or *-i-ya-* (*[w]a-aš-ši-iz-zi*, obv. 21),¹⁰¹ and
9. the spelling of the 3.sg. enclitic personal pronoun with the ŠE-sign (obv. 18).¹⁰²

On the other hand, the Luwian influences evident in rev. 8' and 17', as well as the representation of the negative by the Akkadogram *Ú-UL* (obv. 14) and the appearance of the 3.pl. neuter enclitic pronoun as *-at*, and not as *-e*,¹⁰³ demonstrate that this tablet dates from the Middle Hittite and not the Old Hittite period.¹⁰⁴ The script as depicted in the copy is consistent with this judgment.¹⁰⁵

On neither the obverse nor the reverse has the left-hand margin of this text been preserved. The calculation of available space has been based for the obverse on the restorations in line 13, and for the reverse on the (very probable) restorations in lines 13' and 16'.

A complete edition of this text has been presented by Berman, JAOS 92, 1972, 466–68, and rev. 11'–16' have been transliterated and translated by Haas, Or ns 40, 1971, 417–18.

obv. 1. [*ḫa-aš-š*]*a-an-na-aš-ša-aš*: See Otten, Introduction to KBo XVII, v, with n. 6. The context here favors the translation “womb” over “family.”

obv. 5. *taraša-*, which is also found in obv. 18 and is probably to be restored in obv. 16, is not attested in any other text.¹⁰⁶ In his edition, Berman suggests that this word designates some sort of animal, but this is by no means certain, since the adjective *ḫuišwant-* may mean “fresh” as well as “living”—cf. the similar *ḫuišu-* in obv. 23.

100 See Carruba, ZDMGSuppl I, 1969, 236.

101 See Houwink ten Cate, Records 16, and below, p. 149, with n. 345.

102 See Otten, ZA 52, 1957, 219, and Houwink ten Cate, Records 14–15.

103 The transition from the use of *-e* to that of *-at* seems to have taken place during the Middle Hittite period—see the table in Houwink ten Cate, Records 14f.

104 Otten, StBoT 17, 16, declares this text to be “sprachlich alt.” Kammenhuber, HW² 307, describes it as “jheth-hurr.,” which is incorrect on both counts.

105 The single late form—IG in rev. 8'—is due to a copying error. According to Winkels, Diss 11, a photo shows that the sign actually has the shape which appears in Sp. IX of StBoT 21. Collation of the original by Prof. Otten now confirms this.

106 Cf. only XXXVI 57 II² 7':]×-*kán tar-aš¹-ša-an¹*, which Siegelová, StBoT 14, 62, takes as a form of *taršna-*, “skull.”

obv. 6. The knife and the pegs listed here do not appear again in the lines which have been preserved. Was the knife perhaps employed in the cutting of the umbilical cord?

obv. 7. Neither the name nor the profession of the author of this text has been preserved, but it is possible to determine the latter. Here the author, probably a woman in any case, speaks of the place where she rears a child: [DUMU-*an ku*]wapi andan šallanuškimi. (Note the use of the durative here.) Further, in obv. 22 the author says: DUMU-*an genuwaš-šaš teḫḫi*, “I place the child on his/her knees.” Both of these activities—child rearing and the setting of the new-born on the knees of a parent—belong to the sphere of activity of the ^{SAL}UMMEDA, “(child’s) nurse,”¹⁰⁷ in Hittite texts. For the former, note KUB XIV 7 IV 11–13:

ma-a-an UN-aš-pát

at-ti an-ni DUMU-an šal-la-nu-zi nu-uš-ši at-ta-aš an-na-aš

ŠA ^{SAL}UMMEDA Ū-UL im-ma pa-a-i

If a person raises a child for the father (and) mother, do not the father (and) mother indeed give him (the fee) of the nurse?¹⁰⁸

And, although the logogram ^{SAL}UMMEDA does not appear in the text, the Gulšeš and the DINGIR.MAḪ^{MEŠ} in the “Song of Ullikummi” must be understood as performing this function. See Tablet I A IV 14’–15’ (JCS 5, 1951, 156), where Enlil asks himself:

ku-iš-wa-ra-aš a-ši DUMU-aš ku-[in] nam-ma šal-la-nu-e-ir^d Gul-šu-uš
DINGIR.MAḪ^{MEŠ}-uš

“Who is he, this child wh[om] the Fate-deities (and) the Mother-goddesses further have reared?”¹⁰⁹

The placing of a child on the knees by a nurse is seen in KUB XXIV 8+ III 9–11 (StBoT 14, 10):¹¹⁰

107 For this logogram—URUDU.DA at Boğazköy—see Hoffner, JNES 27, 1968, 199ff.

One Hittite phonetic reading is ^{SAL}harwant-, as shown by Laroche, OLZ 1956, 421, but Hoffner, op.cit. 200, has pointed out that ^{SAL}[UMME]DA-aš in XXIV 8+ III 10 (nom.sg.) stands for a thematic stem. Haas and Thiel, AOAT 31, 28–29, erroneously translate both ^{SAL}ŠA.ZU and ^{SAL}UMMEDA as “Hebamme.”

108 Cf. also KBo XXVI 94 III 12’:]-ir’ ŠA ^{SAL}UMMEDA^{TI} pi-iḫ-ḫi.

109 A final, unpublished, passage in which ^{SAL}UMMEDA is the subject of šallanu- is Bo 1607 IV 1f., cited by Sommer, HAB 73.

110 Lines III 18–19 are similar.

nu [IT]U.10.KAM *ti-ya-at nu-za* DAM ^mAp-pu DUMU.NITA-an *ḥa-aš-ta*
^{SAL}[UMME]DA-aš-za DUMU.NITA-an *kar-ap-ta na-an*¹¹¹.šā-an ^mAp-pu
gi-nu-wa-aš ḥa-la-iš

And the tenth month arrived. Then the wife of Appu gave birth to a son. The [nur]se lifted the son and transferred him to the knees (of) Appu.

Note also that the Gulšeš and the DINGIR.MAH^{MEŠ} set Ullikummi on the knees of Kumarbi.¹¹²

Finally, Izi Boghazköy 49 (KBo I 42 I 39') reads: UMMEDA-za *ku-iš* DUMU-an *kar-pa-an ḥar-zi*.¹¹³ Güterbock, MSL 13, 134, translates this as "a nurse who has lifted (abducted?) a child for herself," but a semantic comparison with the Akkadian equivalent *tārītu*,¹¹⁴ G participle of *tarû*, "to lift up,"¹¹⁵ suggests that despite the odd usage of the periphrastic perfect in this entry, we should understand it as descriptive of the characteristic activity of a nurse and render it simply as "a nurse who has lifted up a child."

The author of Text C was undoubtedly such a child's nurse—here she takes charge of the infant immediately after the midwife has brought him to birth (obv. 10–12¹¹⁶), and is responsible for his initial purification (§§ 5–6). That the nurse continued to care for the child is implied by XIV 7 rev. 11–13, quoted above. The absence of the nurse in all of the other Hittite birth rituals is to be explained by the fact that while many would seek the services of a professional, such as a midwife or a priest, for the crisis of birth itself, only the wealthy could afford to employ a full-time servant to care for the baby thereafter. We must remember that this text deals with a birth within the royal family, and that Appu and Kumarbi, who employ nurses, were a very rich man,¹¹⁷ and a god, respectively.

111 Text: -aš-, but the duplicate XXXVI 59 II 3' has the expected -an-.

112 The "Song of Ullikummi" Tablet I A III 11'–12' (JCS 5, 1951, 152).

113 The Sumerian and Akkadian columns have been lost for this entry. For the problems of interpretation here, see Hoffner, JNES 27, 1968, 200–01.

114 Cf. Izi Boghazköy 268 (KBo I 42 IV 41): (Sum.) D[A.R.]I = (Akk.) *tā-ri-tù* = (Hitt.) UMMEDA-an-za. In line 49 UMMEDA-za probably contains an abbreviated form of the phonetic complementation exhibited here, rather than the reflexive particle.

115 AHw 1330 defines *tārītu(m)* as "'Aufhebende,' Kinderwärterin."

116 *ḥaš-* in obv. 11 with the subject ^{SAL}*ḥašnuppalla-* must mean "cause to be born," an idea expressed elsewhere through the use of the causative *ḥaššanu-*.

117 See above, p. 2.

obv. 8. $\text{L}^{\text{U}}\text{AZU } \dot{\text{U}} \text{L}^{\text{U}}\text{MUŠEN.DÜ}$: For the first of these ritual specialists, see below, p. 159, and Gurney, Aspects 45f., and for the second, Haas/Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 15, with n. 3. The two are also found together at KBo IV 4 II 31 (Goetze, AM 116), a passage from the “Annals of Muršili II,” where they are called upon to take oracular readings for a Hittite army.¹¹⁸

obv. 9. Although the determinative NA_4 is attested with *hušt-*,¹¹⁹ it is found in only a minority of cases and so is not restored here. This word has been treated by Vieyra,¹²⁰ who works with a stem *hušti-*, while Friedrich, HW¹ 77–78,¹²¹ lists both an *a*-stem *hušta-* and an *i*-stem *hušti-*. This latter form is well established—see, for example, the acc.sg. *hu-u-uš-ti-in* (KBo V 2 IV 21). An *a*-stem, however, seems not to exist—no examples of a nom.sg. **huštaš* are known. On the contrary, KBo XI 14 I 19 indicates a consonantal stem *hušt-*:

$\text{nu}^{\text{GIŠ}}\text{ERIN } \dot{\text{L}}\text{NUN } \dot{\text{L}}\text{AL } \text{hu-u-uš-za-} \times^{122} \text{ša-me-ši-ya-zi}$

And he burns¹²³ cedar, butter, honey (and) *hušt*.

It is difficult to determine a specific meaning for *hušt(i)-*.¹²⁴ Although it is generally defined as a mineral because of the occasional presence of NA_4 , it must be kept in mind that this determinative also occurs with materials which we would not consider to be either stones or minerals—note, for example, the Akkadogram NA_4AYARTU , “cowrie.”¹²⁵ Whatever its character, *hušt(i)-* seems to have been employed in ritual contexts due to the quality of strength attributed to it by the Hittites. This is evident in the analogic magic passage KBo XII 85 II 8–9:

118 Cf. also V 6 + II 8, where the result of an oracular question is $\text{IŠTU}^{\text{SAL}}\text{ŠU.GI } \text{SIG}_5 \text{IŠTU}^{\text{L}^{\text{U}}}\text{AZU } \text{L}^{\text{U}}\text{MUŠEN.DÜ-ya } \text{NU.SIG}_5$, and XXXVI 83 + I 9: $\text{L}^{\text{U}}\text{MEŠ}^{\text{S}}\text{AZU } \text{L}^{\text{U}}\text{MEŠ}^{\text{S}}\text{MUŠEN.D[Ü]}^{\text{L}^{\text{U}}\text{MEŠ}^{\text{S}}}\text{ŠU.GI } \text{SAL}^{\text{S}}\text{ENSI}$.

119 E.g., XXX 38 + II 3.

120 RA 51, 1957, 100.

121 See also I.Erg. 7.

122 This sign is illegible. Although syntactically an acc., this word must be understood as nom.sg. in form, i.e., **huštš*. Perhaps the immediately preceding series of un-complemented logograms, which are of course formally identical in all cases, led to this error. Two unpublished references for the nom.sg. **huštš* are 2027/k:5:] $\times$ -du *hu-u-uš-za-m[a* and 78/e rev. 18' (StBoT 5, 150, n. 7):] $\times$ *hu-u-uš-za-ma-at pār-ku-nu-ma-[-*.

123 For *šamešiya-*, “räuchern,” see Otten apud HW¹, 3, Erg 27.

124 Cf. the passages listed in the works cited under notes 120 and 121.

125 See Hoffner, EHGI 79, and CAD A, I, 228.

ḫu-uš-ti-iš GIM-an KALAG.G[A
KALAG.GA-aš e-eš-du

As the *ḫusti* is stron[g ...]
So let him be strong!

ḫušt(i)- is quite commonly employed in the (*arḫa*) *wahnu-*, “swinging,” procedure.¹²⁶ Cf. KBo XXII 108 II 7’f.; KBo XXII 161 rev. 4; KUB X 63 I 10’f.; XVII 8 III 1; XXVII 29 I 18f., 25; XXIX 4 III 65f.; XXIX 8 II 7f.; KBo XXIII 1 II 2f.; and IBoT II 113 II 3. *ḫušt(i)-* in these instances may appear in either the instrumental¹²⁷ or in the accusative.¹²⁸

obv. 13. [*ma-a-n*]a-an-kán KA×U-ŠU *ša-ab-mi*: Berman maintains that the verb in this phrase is a form of *šab-*, “stop up,” rather than of *šanb-*, “sweep, clean.”¹²⁹ “The intent is clear in stopping up the child’s mouth if he is not ‘of life,’” he states. The *ša-ab-mi* action in this text, however, is clearly carried out on the child who is going to live, as well as on the unfortunate child. Certainly a purification is more expected here than a smothering. Note that while there is no other evidence in the birth rituals for infanticide, passages from two other texts edited here show the importance of purification of the mouth: Text Ha II 30: *nu* SAL KA×U-ŠU *šuppiyahḫi*, “and he purifies the mouth of the woman,” and Text K obv. 12: *nu=za=kan* KA×U-ŠU *para šuppiyahḫi*, “and she purifies her (own) mouth.”

Admittedly these two passages do not employ the verb *šanb-*, but XII 58 III 2 proves that this term as well as *parkunu-* and *šuppiyahḫ-* can be used of cleansing a person: *ka-a-ša-kán* NÍ.TE *ḫu-u-ma-an-da ša-ab-ḫi-iš-ki-mi*. This line has already been translated by Goetze, Tunn 17, as “I now am scrubbing all the limbs.” Berman also quotes KBo III 8 II 29–30 as providing examples of *šab-*:

^{SAL}*ḫa-ša-wa-an pī-e-ḫu-te-i[ḫ-ḫi na-aš pà-id-du nu-uš-ši? E]*ME-ŠU
ša-ab-du ^{SAL}*ḫa-a-ša-u-wa-aš pa-[it nu-uš-ši]* EME-ŠU *ša-ab-ta*

Here too I interpret the verbs as belonging to *šanb-*, and render the passage:

“I am bring[ing] the Old Woman. [Let her go,
and] his tongue let her cleanse!” Then the
Old Woman w[ent], and his tongue she cleansed.

¹²⁶ For this ritual gesture, see Haas/Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 42ff.

¹²⁷ E.g., KBo XXII 161 rev. 4.

¹²⁸ E.g., X 63 I 11’.

¹²⁹ He is followed in this interpretation by Eichner, Sprache 21, 1975, 159, n. 5, and Puhvel, FsLaroche 300f.

Purification of the mouth is the subject of an important Hurrian ritual series found at Boğazköy, CTH 777.¹³⁰ Cf. also VII 1 I 29: *na-aš-ta DUMU-an a-i-iš-ši-it' pa-ra-a ar-ra-ab-ḫi* “And I wash the mouth of the child.”

obv. 13–15. (Ú-UL) *ḫu-iš-wa-an-na-aš*: Cf. the “Apology of Hattušili III” I 14–15, where Šaušga tells Muwatalli:

A-NA ^m*Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li-wa* MU.KAM^{H1.A} *ma-ni-in-ku-wa-an-te-eš*
 Ú-UL-*wa-ra-aš* TI-an-na-aš

“For Hattušili the years are short; he is not one of (long) life.”

How it was decided at birth whether the baby was “of life” is unknown, but perhaps a determination was made during the mouth washing. Whether this depended upon the child’s physical condition or an act of divination is uncertain, although the presence of the seer and augur in obv. 8 points to the latter alternative.

For the verb whose final signs can be seen after the break in obv. 14, Berman restores [*da-a-l)a-ab-ḫi*, “I [lea]ve,” a suggestion which seems to be dependent upon his interpretation of the previous lines. I prefer a restoration [*ḫa-ad-du-l)a-ab-ḫi*, “I [give (him) heal]th,” indicating a magic action, perhaps even alluding to the acts of the rest of the text.

Unfortunately the verb in obv. 15 has been lost completely, since it would be most interesting to learn what measures the nurse took on behalf of the ill-fated child.

The presence of the DUMU É.GAL, “palace functionary,”¹³¹ in obv. 15, together with that of the queen in obv. 20 shows that this text was intended specifically for use by the royal family. *šer ar-*, “stand over,” must be understood here in the sense of “supervise.” Cf. the use of *ar-* in RS 17.109 obv. 2–5 (Laroche, Ugar V, 769):

^m*At-tal-li-iš-wa-mu* ^{LÚ}MA-KI-IS-SÚ
 8 ME KÜ.BABBAR *ḫar-ta*
da-at-ta-ma-at ku-wa-pí
^{nu} ^m*Pal-la-ri-ya-aš-ša ar-ta-at*

“Attalli, the tax collector, held 800 (shekels of) silver on my behalf.¹³² But when he received¹³³ them, then Pallariya also stood by (i.e., was a witness).”

130 Cf. XXIX 8 IV 36–37:

DUB.10.KAM QA-TI ŠA SISKUR.SISKUR *it-kal-zi-aš*
a-iš šu-up-pí-ya-ab-ḫu-wa-aš

131 On this official, see Imparati, Or ns 44, 1975, 89, n. 57, and SMEA 18, 1977, 54f.

132 See Kümmel, UF 1, 1969, 161.

133 See StBoT 5, 161, n. 2.

obv. 16. The particle *-kan* has been restored here because this particle is attested with the verb *peda-* already in Old Hittite texts.¹³⁴ For the *i*-stem *kurtal-li-*, as opposed to later *kurtal*, see Neu/Rüster, FsOttén 231, with n. 33.

obv. 17. For *ekt-*, “(hunting) net,” see Hoffner, FsFinkelstein 105 ff. To its use here compare Text A obv. 4–5: 1^{EN} KUŠ^Š *šarpaššiš=a=kan* GIŠ^Š *kuppišnaš ištar* tagan išparanzi.

obv. 19. For the restoration of the sentence-particle *-ašta* here with *arḫa war-nu-*, cf. Text K obv. 25. The sudden appearance of the head of a wolf here is surprising, but the immolation of animal heads¹³⁵ is found elsewhere in Hittite ritual practice, for example in the royal funerary rituals.¹³⁶ SAG.DU UR.BAR. RA occurs in several unpublished texts, most interestingly in the fragmentary Bo 4542 rev. 6, where it is followed in line 7 by *ḫwa-ra-a-an*.

obv. 20ff. For the restoration [^{SAL}ḫa-a-š]a'-ú-wa-aš, cf. rev. 9'. The fact that the queen here changes her clothes makes it extremely likely that she is the mother in this text—the change was probably necessitated by the soiling of her garments during parturition. Further, in obv. 22 it seems that the child is placed upon her knees,¹³⁷ although it is usually the father who receives the child in this manner soon after birth.

obv. 23. *tar-za-aš*: The other occurrences of this word are fragmentary and do not allow us to determine its meaning: XXXIII 31:7: *tar-z[a']²*-, and XXXIII 62 II 21': j^dIM^{URU} *Ku-li-ú-iš-na tar-za-a-a[š]*.

obv. 24. The Sumerogram in this line is either an imperfectly written URUDU¹PISAN¹, “copper box,”¹³⁸ or perhaps a faulty URUDU¹GUR, “copper basket.”¹³⁹ In either case a container of some sort is indicated.

On asyndeton with the verb *uwa-*, see HE I² § 312.

134 See Josephson, FSP 142.

135 Cf. also KBo XX 3 II 8': j1² UZUSAG.DU ŠAH, and KBo XVII 21 + + obv. 10 (StBoT 25, Nr. 19): 2 SAG.DU GUD, where the animal heads, however, are not burned.

136 E.g., KUB XXX 25 + obv. 19—see Otten, HTR 26 f.

137 For this action, see above, pp. 48 f.

138 Although the usual material, and thus determinative, of PISAN at Boğazköy is reed (GI), e.g., IBoT I 31 obv. 16 ff., or wood (GIŠ), e.g., KBo IX 91 obv. 5, 15, 19, a probable U¹[^{RUDU}PIS]AN is attested at XL 95 II 7 (Kempinski/Kośak, Tel Aviv 4, 1977, 88).

139 See AHw 822, sub *pānu* II, “Korb.” The usual reading of GUR at Boğazköy, however, is *damaī-*, “other”—see Laroche, RA 47, 1953, 72.

obv. 25. For the restorations in this line, and for *hazzuwanni-* as “lettuce,” see Hoffner, JCS 25, 1973, 234.

rev. 2'. The subject of *paraḥdu* here is uncertain, but it is more likely a deity than a scapegoat, since it is probably the same subject who bestows long years upon the child in *rev.* 4'.

rev. 3'. Since KI.3¹⁴⁰ undoubtedly stands for *paraḥdu*, Berman's restoration [*bu-u-m*]a-an-du-uš MU^{W1.A}-uš is doubtful—a request for the driving out of “[al]l years” makes little sense. [*ma-ni-in-k*]u-an-du-uš is supported both by the “Apology of Hattušili III” I 14 (see above, p. 52) and VIII 35 *obv.* 3' (see above, p. 16).

rev. 4'. For the restoration of the indirect object at the beginning of this line, cf. *rev.* 10', and for the restoration of the verb, cf. Text D *rev.* 11'.

rev. 5'. In this line the Sun-goddess of the Earth, who also aids the new-born in Text D *rev.* 8'ff., is summoned to remove some evil threatening the child by turning it into pebbles.¹⁴¹

The Sun-goddess of the Earth had no particular concern with birth, but is present here only in her well-attested capacity as recipient of unwanted evils from the world of humankind.¹⁴² For the character of this deity, including the question of sexual identity, see von Schuler, WbMyth I, 199–200.

rev. 6'. Berman construes the verb in this line as an incorrectly formed imp.3.sg. of *dala-*, “leave.” I prefer a simple emendation of LU to Ū, which yields *da-a-ú*, a form both grammatically and contextually correct.

rev. 7'. *ši-i-e-eš-šar* here is rendered by Berman as “beer.” This is indeed possible, since similar “super plene” spellings of this word with this meaning are found at KBo XVII 83 II 12; KBo XXI 21 III 7; and Bo 2309 III 4. However, F. Starke has suggested to me that *ši-i-e-eš-šar* might be an abstract noun derived from *šiya-*,¹⁴³ meaning “Guß,” and that *šieššar*¹⁴⁴ *šiya-* is to be under-

140 For KI.N, see StBoT 25, 24, n. 65, and XXVIII 75 II 14f. (StBoT 25, Nr. 113).

141 For a similar ritual action by which undesirable things are turned into soap, see XXIX 7 *rev.* 20ff.

142 Cf., for example, IX 4 II 4ff.

143 See HE I² § 44c.

144 For this transcription, see StBoT 25, XIV, n. 3.

stood as a *figura etymologica*.¹⁴⁵ The short incantation here might refer to some unknown myth concerning precipitation.

rev. 8'. ^d*Im-mar-ni-i*: This deity appears elsewhere in two different versions of the “Myth of Telepinu.” XVII 10 I 10'–11'¹⁴⁶ tells of the dire consequences of the departure of the god:

^d*Te-li-pi-nu-ša ar-ḫa i-ya-an-ni-iš ḫal-ki-in* ^d*Im-mar-ni-in*
^{ša-al-ḫi-an-ti-en ma-an-ni-it-ti-en iš-pi-ya-tar-ra pi-e-da-aš}

And Telepinu went away. Grain, Immarni,¹⁴⁷ *šalḫianti*, *mannitti*, and sateity he carried away.

While the meanings of the Luwoid *šalḫiti-/šalḫ(i)anti-* and *mannitti-* are not known,¹⁴⁹ the presence of grain and sateity along with Immarni here suggests that this deity is either a personified natural product or a natural force associated with the production of such. The other Telepinu passage supports this interpretation. KUB XXXIII 9 III 9'–11' relates of Telepinu upon his return:

-a]z pa-ra-a ú-da-aš ḫal-ki-in ^d*Im-mar-ni-i[n]*
a-aš-š[a-mu-uš ḫi-e-a-mu-uš a-aš-ša-mu-uš IM^{U1.A}-uš
a-pa-a-at²]-ta ḫu-u-ma-an pa-ra-a ú-da-aš

[...] he has brought forth. Grain, Immarni,
[... the go]od rains, the good winds, [...]
all [this] he has brought forth.

As shown by Laroche, RHA 60, 1957, 23, and DLL 51, the name of this deity is a derivative of Luwian *immari-*, “steppe.”¹⁵⁰ In Luwian the word is

145 *śieššar* is probably both an abstract and a particular liquid—cf. Sanskrit *sóma*, for which see William Dwight Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, 2nd edition (Cambridge, Mass., 1889) §§ 1166, 1168.

146 Parallel is KBo XXVI 124:20–21, which is part of a Vanishing God text featuring the Storm-god (^dU).

147 Goetze, ANET² 126, translates ^d*Immarni* as “(fertile) breeze.”

148 See Laroche, DLL 85 (*ša-al-ḫa-a-ti*).

149 For the former word, HW¹ 179 tentatively gives the translation “Wachstum (??).” Outside of this mythological *topos*—citations at Haas/Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 31, n. 2—this inseparable pair of words occurs only at XLV 28 + + obv. 16 (Otten/Rüster, ZA 68, 1978, 154 ff.):]-x-ma *šal-ḫi-it-ti-iš ma-an-ni-it-ti-iš* ^{NINDA}zi-ip-pi-na-za TUŠ-zi, and KBo XXIII 3:4': *šal-ḫi-it-ti-in ma-*.

150 For the suffix *-ni-*, cf. the Luwian gentilic *-anni-* (DLL § 30.8), and Hittite *-(a)nni-* (HE I² § 50 c), which Güterbock, Boğ-Hatt. IX, 170 f., with n. 23, has demonstrated is not a diminutive affix.

plural: [^dIm-]mar-ni-za (XXV 32 I 13), ^dIm-mar-ni-iz-za (KBo XVII 89 III 4), i. e., ^dImmarni(n)za,¹⁵¹ dat./acc.pl., and probably indicates a group of lesser deities associated with the keeping of flocks, analagous to the Greek fauns. When borrowed into Hittite, the word was reduced both semantically and grammatically to the singular ^dImmarni-.

An interpretation of Immarni as the divinity responsible for stock farming¹⁵² is confirmed by the request made in Text C that he⁷ supply a goat which will serve as a substitute for the human baby.¹⁵³

rev. 9'. For ^{SAT}hašauwa- as a "cover term" for female ritual practitioners, see below, pp. 232f.

rev. 10'. While here the nurse speaks of treating "the nine body parts," in the following lines it appears that thirteen parts of the child's body are actually mentioned. Another common number attested with body parts in Hittite ritual is twelve,¹⁵⁴ although here also, in many cases where the procedure is described in detail, the number of limbs and organs treated fails to match this total. If, in Text C, the number nine does not represent the actual number of items involved, it must have been chosen because of its innate magical or religious significance. Note the common motif in which nine paths are prepared for the enticement of the deity in the *evocatio*.¹⁵⁵

The ritual technique by which the various parts of a person to be purified are matched with those of his substitute, who thereby assumes the pollution, is discussed at length by Haas, Or ns 40, 1971, 410–30, where evidence is presented that this motif is of Mesopotamian origin.¹⁵⁶

rev. 11'. That *bandan* should not be translated here as "arranged," which implies actual physical manipulation, but as "matched, paired with," is indi-

151 For the loss or assimilation of the *n*, see DLL § 7.

152 Note the company kept by the Luwoid plural ^dImmarnizza in the god list KBo XVII 89 III 4'-8': ^dIm-mar-ni-iz-za [/ ^dMi-ya-da-an-zi-pa × [/ gi-im-ra-aš^d LAMÁ [/ u-ša-al-li-iš^d LAM[Á / ŠA^{GIŠ} GEŠTIN^d hał-ki-iš[.

153 On ^dImmarni, see now also Otten, RIA V, 73.

154 See Sommer/Falkenstein, HAB 89; Goetze, Tunn 42, with n. 126; Otten, Luw 100, n. 187; and Güterbock, Bulletin of the History of Medicine 36, 1962, 111–12.

155 For references here, and on the number nine in general, see Carruba, StBoT 2, 12, n. 8. See also Haas/Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 177, and Haas, KN 104, nn. 1–2.

156 See, however, Kümmel, StBoT 3, 194ff., where the existence of an independent Hittite tradition of ritual substitution is argued. This need not invalidate Haas' conclusions concerning the "matching" *topos*. See also AOATS 3, 25–26.

cated by IX 34 II 46–47,¹⁵⁷ where blood is subjected to this action. It is not to be doubted, however, that this ritual actually included the touching of the goat to the child.

rev. 12'. Haas, Or ns 40, 1971, 417, restores [EME-*kán* A-NA EME-ŠU KI.3] at the beginning of this line. While this restoration would require slightly more space than reconstructed here, this is not a decisive objection. It is important to note, however, that Haas' suggestion would place the tongue between the eyebrows and ears, and that the text does not mention the mouth until later, as the fifth item.

rev. 13'. The copy here shows KUŠ-*kán* A-NA ZÉ KI.7. Haas reads both Sumerograms as KUŠ without comment; similarly, Berman reads ZÉ twice. In a context immediately following ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG, "liver," I have opted for ZÉ, "gall bladder."

rev. 14'.]*x-ti* KI.8 presents several problems: If we wish to keep the numerals with KI in order (emending to KI.5¹ in *rev. 12'* and to KI.9¹ in *rev. 14'*), we must assume that KI.8 pertains to *gi-en-zu-kán* at the end of *rev. 13'*. There is no way to write this word so as to end in TI, and it must be kept in mind that all acc./dat. pairs in this paragraph are exact—there are no synonyms or substitutions of Sumerograms for phonetic spellings or vice versa. Nor are there any adverbs inserted in the phrases. The available space also suggests that no more than one word is to be restored in the break.

For *zašgaraiš* and *arkiyeš* (*rev. 15'*), see Berman's comments (p. 468), and for the latter term, cf. Watkins, BSL 70, 1975, 11–25, and Kammenhuber, HW² 307.

rev. 16'. It is uncertain whether we should restore in the break KI.11 or KI.MIN, as in the last two items in this line.

rev. 17'. For the reading of the signs at the beginning of this line, see StBoT 15, 4. On *hurlalli*, "mixing bowl; malediction?," see Jucquois/Lebrun, H&I 106ff.

rev. 18'. This speech must have been recited by the nurse while the "matching" ritual was performed. In the break at the beginning of *rev. 18'*, "all evils" or the like is probably to be restored. The subject throughout these lines is the goat, which is to carry off the evils to the high mountains, where they will be at a safe distance from humankind. However, *rev. 22'* indicates that this is only

157 See Haas, Or ns 40, 1971, 414.

metaphorical here, since the goat is butchered, and not driven off into the hills.

rev. 19'. Berman puts forth a restoration [*u²-el²-l*]*u²-wa-aš u²-el-ku-wa*, “to the grass of the [mea]dow,” while Otten, StBoT 8, 97, n. 2, restores [^dUT]U-*wa-aš*.¹⁵⁸ In support of this latter reading, cf. XXXII 115+ + IV 17 (MIO 1, 1953, 346): [(*nu* ^{SAL}Š)]U.GI ⁴UTU-*aš u²-el-ku da-a-i*, “And the Old Woman takes the plant of the Sun-deity,” which shows clearly that a specific botanical entity is indicated.¹⁵⁹ Since rev. 20' and possibly also rev. 21' mention the Sun-goddess of the Earth, I have tentatively assumed in my restoration that it was this “Sun-deity” who lent her name to the plant. In any case, the parallelism of *welkuwa* (term.sg.¹⁶⁰) with *pargauwaš* HUR.SAG^{H1-A}-*aš* in the preceding line shows that it too must indicate a possible remote destination for the unwanted evils. Compare here Text N 5': [*pargauwaš*²] HUR.SAG^{H1-A}-*aš ḫalluwaš ḫariy[aš]*, “[to the high] mountains, to the deep valley[s].” Therefore, the plant must represent here, in a *pars pro toto* construction, the area in which it grows—perhaps a valley (cf. Text N) or a meadow.

rev. 21'. For torches in Hittite cult, see Haas, KN 61–62. The subject of the imp.3.sg. *ḫar-du* here is uncertain, but it can hardly have been the goat. On the other hand, this imperative is more probably part of the incantation than of the ritual instructions.

rev. 22'ff. Here the goat is killed, and thus it enters the realm of the chthonic, carrying its burden of pollution to the Sun-goddess of the Earth. The image of wood was presumably among the things burned in rev. 24', and thus was probably another substitute for the new-born.

158 Puhvel, KZ 83, 1969, 64ff., translates this phrase as “Meadow of the Under-world.”

159 XXXII 115+ + IV 17ff. suggests that the Luwian name of this plant was *tiwariya*. See already (Jakob-)Rost, MIO 1, 1953, 375–76, where the possibility that the sunflower is indicated here is discussed. This interpretation would be thrown into doubt if the connection made above with the essentially nonsolar Sun-goddess of the Earth is correct.

160 Oettinger, StBoT 22, 36, indicates a reading *u²-el-ku-wa-(an)* for this word, which would be nom./acc.sg. of a neuter noun *welkuwant-*, identical in meaning with *welku-*. However, the parallelism with rev. 18' makes it certain that this word should not be construed as an acc. object of *peḫutezzi*.

rev. 25'. This line is seemingly the colophon of the tablet, since it is very near the end of the reverse, and the preceding paragraph stroke is double, at least for the final third of its length. It is uncertain if the ritual is here at an end, or if it continued on additional tablet(s).

- Obv. [UM-MA ŠA^{URU}]Li-ih-ša ma-a-an-za SAL-za ha-a-[ši] nq-aš-ta
DUMU-an x[?]
2. [] x-zi an-da pí-e-da-an-zi nu a-pí-e-da-aš
[]^{ME}Š[?] te-ih-ḫi na-at-kán iš-ḫi-ma-ni-it a-ar-aš-mi^a
4. [] te-kál^{n?} pád-da-ab-ḫi kī-it-kar GIR^{U1.A}-az ta-pu-uš-za
[] x-ḫu-wa-eš te^{17b}ih^cḫi
-
6. [] (-)ki-in-qa-ab-ḫa 1 NINDA.ŠE ta-mi-in-ga-mar ta-ka¹-an-za
[] da-a-ab-ḫiⁱ še-ra-aš-ša-an ša-pi-ku-uš-ta-an ta-an-na-ra-an-da-an
8. [] x-ab-ḫi^c na-an A-NA DUMU ki-it-kar te-ih-ḫi
[nu ki-iš-ša-an te-]mi
-
10. [] DU]MU-an da-a-ab-ḫi [i] ša-[pí-k]u-uš-ta-ša-wa-aš-ši
[] A[?] I[?] [] x [] -kán
12. []
[]
14. [] -Ú-ŠU
[] x
16. [] ki^{i?}-it[?]-k[ar[?]
- Rev. [] -i]š[?]
- 2'. []
[]
- 4'. [] x x nu DUMU-an TI-i[š-nu-ut[?]"]
-
- [] ar-ḫa wa-ab-nu-zi
- 6'. [] x^c da-a-i 4 NINDA.KUR₄.RA^{U1.A}-ma
[] x a-ra-ab-za dam-mi-li
- 8'. [] pí-e-di te-ih-ḫi[?] ... nu te-mi^d ták-na-aš^a UTU-uš
[] x-uš zi-ik e-ip nu nam-ma
- 10'. [] ar-ḫa li-]e tar-na-ti A-NA DUMU-ma TI-tar in-na-ra-ab-ḫu-ar
[] MU^{U1.A} GÍD.DA pí-iš-ki
-
- 12'. [UM-MA ŠA] ^{URU}Li-ih-ša ma-a-an-za SAL-za ha-a-ši nu ki-i ut-
tar-še-it
[] DUB.1.KAM QA-TI

a. obv. 1–3 are written on the upper edge

b. text: HA

c. erasure follows

d. over erasure

- § 1 [Thus says ... of] Liḫša: When a woman gives bir[th], then the child
 2. [...] they bring in. Then in/on those
 [...] I place. And them with a rope I ...
 4. [...] the ear]th I dig. At (his) head, feet (and) side
 [...] ... I place?

-
6. [...] ... one barley loaf ... from the earth??
 § 2 [...] I tak]e?, and thereupon an unornamented pin
 8. [...] I? ... And I place it at the head of the child,
 [and] I [sp]eak [as follows]:

-
10. "[... the ch]ild I take. The pin for him
 12–16. (traces)

1'–3'. (traces)

- 4'. [...] and the child (s)he has cau[sed to live?].

§ 5' [...] (s)he swings about.

- 6'. [...] (s)he takes/places. But four thick loaves
 [...] outside, in a different

- 8'. [spot I place?]. And I say: "Sun-goddess of the Earth,
 [...] (various evils)] may you seize! And further

- 10'. [...] you shall [no]t let (them) loose (again)! But for the child life, fitness
 (and) long years continually give!"

12'. [Thus says ... of] Liḫša: When a woman gives birth, this is the procedure
 § 6' in regard to her.

Tablet 1, complete.

Commentary

This text is a fragment of a ritual to be performed for the new-born in order to rid him of evils and secure for him life, fitness, and a long existence (see rev. 10'f.).

The beginning of the text is on the upper edge of the tablet, an archaic feature,¹⁶¹ and the text also employs the enclitic possessive pronoun (*uttar-šet*, rev. 12'). The youngest orthographic feature here is the non-plene spelling of *še-ir* (obv. 7), which in any case does not indicate a tablet necessarily younger than the Middle Hittite period.¹⁶² Graphically, the shapes of E (obv. 2, rev. 9', 10'), AZ (obv. 4), and especially TAR (rev. 10', 12') are archaic and make it clear that we have here a Middle Hittite composition preserved on a Middle Hittite tablet.

obv. 1. Since the left edge of the tablet is missing, calculation of the available space here is not possible.

A town Liḫša is unattested outside of this text,¹⁶³ and it is possible that URU *Li-iḫ-ša* is a variant spelling of URU *Liḫš/zina*.¹⁶⁴

obv. 3. The verb *arš-*, "flow," is well established, and formally *a-ar-aš-mi* could indeed belong to this stem. But, outside of perhaps a mythological context involving a personified river, the first person is unexpected, as is a noun in the instrumental case (here *išḫimanit*) with this intransitive verb. I can cite two additional occurrences of a verb *ar(a)š-* with the instrumental: XXXI 147 II 7: [N^{A4}]KA-*it ar-ša-an-za e-eš-du*, and KBo III 43 rev. 13' (BoTu 14γ): GUŠKIN-*it ar-ša-an-x* [. Clearly this word must be kept separate from *arš-*, "flow." Unfortunately the three broken contexts available do not permit a determination of its meaning.

obv. 5.]*x-ḫu-wa-eš te'-iḫ-ḫi*: The reading of the first signs preserved in this line is uncertain. The emendation is suggested by obv. 3 and 8, although admittedly the erasure in the same word makes it unlikely that another error would have gone unnoticed.

161 See Otten/Souček, StBoT 8, 12, n. 2.

162 See Carruba, ZDMGSuppl I, 1969, 236.

163 H. Ertem, Boğazköy metinlerinde geçen coğrafya adları dizini (Ankara, 1973), p. 86, lists also KBo XIV 21 I 2' as an occurrence of this town, but the line is very fragmentary—only]*x(-)li-iḫ-ša(-)* may be seen—and therefore inconclusive. Cf. also the mountain HUR.SAG *Li-iḫ-ša-aš*, IBoT II 131 obv. 21.

164 See del Monte, RG 6, 247f.

obv. 6. This line is largely unintelligible—is [...]—*ki-in-qa-aḫ-ḫa* a Luwian verb, prt.1.sg.? For NINDA.ŠE, see Hoffner, AlHeth 203. *ta-mi-in-ga-mar* is perhaps a neuter noun derived from the verb *damenk-*, “join oneself,” and *ta-ka¹-an-za*, like *ták-an-za* in Text L rev. 26, possibly a variant of the usual *tak-na-za*, abl. of *tekan*, “earth.”

obv. 7. *ša-pí-ku-uš-ta-an*: See Goetze, KIF 1, 1930, 234–35; id., JCS 11, 1957, 35; Gurney, AAA 27, 1940, 90; and Güterbock, Oriens 10, 1957, 357. Attestations of ^(URUDU)*ša/epik(k)ušta-* and its logographic equivalent ^(URUDU)ZI.-KIN.BAR¹⁶⁵ are rather numerous:

nom. sg.

<i>ša-pí-ik-ku-uš-ta-aš</i>	XVII 28 I 14
<i>ša¹-a-pí-ku-uš-ta-aš</i>	Bo 2967 II 1
[š] <i>a-pí-ku-uš-ta-aš</i>	XLII 45: 4'
<i>šq-p[i-k]u-uš-ta-ša</i>	KBo XVII 60 (Text D) obv. 10
^{URUDU} <i>ši-pí-i[k-k]u-uš-ta-aš</i>	XLV 47 I 13

acc. sg.

<i>ša-pí-ku-uš-ta-an</i>	KBo XVII 60 (Text D) obv. 7
]še-pí-ku-uš-ta-a[n]	XXIX 27: 8'
^{URUDU} <i>ši-pí-[ik-ku-u]š-ta-an</i>	XLV 47 I 20

gen. sg.

^{URUDU} <i>še-pí-ik-ku-uš-ta-aš</i>	XXIV 4 I 13; KBo XXII 78: 6'
^{URUDU} ZI.KIN.BAR- <i>aš</i>	XIV 10 IV 19'; XXIV 3 II 23

dat./loc. sg.

<i>še-pí-ku-uš-ti</i>	KBo XII 112 (Text E) obv. 6'
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uninflected

ZI.KIN.BAR	XVII 20 II 22; XLII 36:3'; KBo VI 10 II 13; KBo XIII 239 obv. 8; KBo XVIII 172 rev. 13; KBo XVIII 176 v 6
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nom. pl.

[š] <i>e-pí-ku-uš-te-eš</i>	XLI 15 obv. 6'
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165 Goetze's suggestion in JCS 11 that the last two signs of this logogram, which is found only at Boğazköy, are a “dissolution” of KARA_x is to be rejected because it is likely that some relationship, as yet unclear, exists between ^(URUDU)ZI.KIN.BAR and the Sumerogram ^(NA4/GIŠ)ZI.KIN = *ḫuwaši-*, “baetyl,” which is also attested only in Hittite texts—see Darga, RHA 84/85, 1969, 12.

acc. pl.

URUDU *ša-pi-ik-ku-uš-du-uš*
 URUDU *še-pi-ik-ku-uš-tu-uš*
 URUDU *Z[¹I.K.]IN.BAR^{II.A}*

XLII 97: 9'; 236/n IV² 5'
 Bo 2650 I 18 (StBoT 19, 8)
 XXVII 49 III 18

broken

URUDU *U⁹še-pi-ik-ku-uš-[*
 URUDU *še-pi-i[k-*
]še-pi-i[k-
še-pi⁹[-
 ZI.KIN.[BAR

KBo XVII 84 I 12'
 1757/c:4
 KBo XXI 7 IV 8'
 XLVIII 123 III 18
 XLII 39:3'

The *ša/epik(k)ušta-* could be made of copper (e.g., XXIV 4 I 13), of bronze (e.g., XLII 45:4'), or, in one text, of gold (KBo XIII 239 obv. 8). In this last instance a weight of one shekel is specified.

XXVII 49 III 16ff.,¹⁶⁶ where several *ša/epik(k)ušta-*, in association with a kerchief (^{TUG}*kureššar*), are taken from the head of a bride and stuck (*pašk-*) into a magic figure, indicates that one meaning of the word is "(hair)pin."

Further, Gurney's understanding of *ša/epik(k)ušta-* as "stylus"¹⁶⁷ finds added support in KBo XVIII 172 rev. 13: 1 ZI.KIN.BAR ^{LÜ}DUB.[SAR, "one š. of the scr[ibe]." Generalizing from this evidence, (^{URUDU})*ša/epik(k)ušta-* may be said to designate a long pointed metal object with a single shaft.¹⁶⁸ German "Nadel" and English "pin" are the best translations.

This object was employed frequently in cult¹⁶⁹ and magic,¹⁷⁰ as is the case in Texts D and E. In these instances the adjective *dannarant-*, literally

166 Translated by Güterbock, *Oriens* 10, 1957, 357. The duplicate KBo XXIX 97 IV 5' reads [(a-pu-u-uš-pā)]t ^{URUDU}*ša-pi-ik-ku-uš-du-uš*, thus confirming Güterbock's restoration [^{URUDU}ZI.KIN.BAR^{II.A}] for XXVII 49 III 21.

167 AAA 27, 1940, 90. This interpretation was based on XVII 20 II 22: *Ll-Iḫ-E KÙ.BABBAR ZI.KIN.BAR* [KÙ.BABBAR], "a 'wooden tablet' of silver, a š. [of silver]."

168 The texts do not support the conjecture of Goetze, KIF 1, 1930, 234, that a "Spange" (i.e., "hair clasp; fibula") is indicated here.

169 Cf. XLI 15 I 6'ff. and Bo 2650 I 18ff. (StBoT 19, 8). The phrase *n=ašta/nu=kan* ^{URUDU}*šepikkustaš/URUDU* ZI.KIN.BAR-*aš* ^{GIŠ}*šarpaz kunk-*, found several times in Hittite prayers (XIV 10 IV 19'f.; XXIV 3 + 401/u II 23; XXIV 4 I 13; and KBo XXII 78:6'f.), remains as obscure today as in Goetze's time. All that may be said is that a ritual gesture or activity of some sort is involved.

170 Note especially XVII 28 I 11ff.

“empty,” may be understood either as “unornamented,”¹⁷¹ or as indicating a contrast to those cases in which something is attached to a *ša/epik(k)ušta-* (cf. XVII 28 I 15; XLV 47 I 14; Text E obv. 6’).

obv. 8.]*x-ab-bi* is probably the end of a verb in the prs.1.sg., agreeing in person and number with the other verbs preserved in this paragraph.

obv. 9. [*nu ki-iš-ša-an te-mi*]: For the restoration, note the particle *-wa-* in the next line and cf. Text A obv. 8.

rev. 7’-8’. *dam-mi-li* [*pí-e-di te-iḫ-bi?*]: For this phrase in ritual, see Güterbock, RHA 74, 1964, 103–05, but note that his suggested translation of *dam-meli* as “virgin; uncultivated” is to be rejected—see Neu, StBoT 18, 21, and Puhvel, KZ 92, 1978, 103, with n. 16.

rev. 10’. *in-na-ra-ab-ḫu-ar* is the verbal substantive of *in(n)arabḫ-*, “be strong.” That it is essentially synonymous with the more common *innarauwa-tar* is demonstrated by a comparison of this passage with XV 32 I 55–56, where several deities are urged:

nu-uš-ši pí-iš-t[en TI-tar] ḫa-ad-du-la-a-tar in-na-ra-u-wa-a-tar MU^{BI.A} GÍD.-DA ...

Giv[e] to him [life], health, fitness, long years (etc.)!

171 See Goetze, Tunn 50f., for the closely-related word *dannara-* as “unornamented.”

Obv. [		SÍ]G ² te-pu
2'. [		] × -ti
[		]
4'. [		ú-e ²]-]ḫa-at-ta
[		] -i da-an-na-⟨ra-⟩an-da-an
6'. [	še-pí-ku-uš-ta-an da-a-i ²	a]n-da še-pí-ku-uš-ti ḫa-ma-an-ki
[		] an-da ^{GIŠ} ni-ni-ya-la-aš ḫa-ma-an-ki
8'. [		] ^a
[		] × na-an-ši-kán an-da INA ^{TÚG} GÚ.È.A ḫa-ma-an-ki
10'. [		d]a-a-i
[		] -q ² UN-aš DUMU-an an-da a-uš-zi a-pa-a-aš-ša-an
12'. [		-y]a ² -zi
[ma-a-an SAL-za DUMU-an ²] ar-ma-a-iz-zi na-an kiš-an ḫu-u-uk-zi		
14'. [		] -ú ² -pí-na-aš ^{U²U²}] ú-e-ik-ta šal-la-ya-aš-ša-wa-za
[		am-me-y]a-an-da-aš ú-e-ik-ta
16'. [		] × nu am-me-ya-ḡn-du-uš pí-i-e-it
[		] ú ² -[u]k-wa pa-a-i-mi
18'. [		]
[		] × -an-ta ku-[]-zi
20'. [		] × (-)ḫa-an(-)[

a. long erasure

1'–3'. (traces)

4'. [	t]urns ²
§ 2' [	] an unornamented
6'. [pin she takes ² ... on]to the pin she binds.	

§ 3' [	] onto the cradle she binds.
8'. [	] And it she binds onto her ² shirt.
10'. [	] she [t]akes/[pl]aces.

§ 4' [	] the human child she inspects. And him she
12'. [	]

§ 5' [When a woman] is pregnant [with child], then she conjures for her as follows:

14'. “[	] fat of ... she demanded. Of the big
[	of the sm]all she demanded.

16'. “[	] and (s)he sent the small ones.
§ 6' [	] I will go.

18'–20'. (traces)

- Rev. []-ra-aš SAG.DU-ya
 2'. []×-aḫ-ḫu-un
 []-k]án pa-ra-a le-el-ḫu-wa-i
-
- 4'. []-a]n²-ta-an ú-daḫ-ḫu-un
 [] nu-wa tar-aš-ki-ši i-it-wa-ra-an-kán
 6'. [a]n-da pa-i
-
- [] × a-aḫ-pa A-NA DINGIR^{MEŠ} me-mi-iš-ta
 8'. [nu-wa-kán] a-pa-at-ta ku-e-da-ni-ik-k] du-me-ni pa-id-du-wa-az
 [gi-]im-ra-aš tar-pa-tar-pa-an da-a-ú nu-wa gi-im-ma-ra-aš ma-
 aḫ-ḫa-an
 10'. [an-ni-i]š-ši-kán {A-NA} an-da-an QA-TAM-MA ú-e-ḫa-at-ta-ru
-
- [pa-id-du-wa-a]z² ḫa-a-aš-šu-uš da-a-ú nu-wa-aš-ša-an^{GIS}IG GIM-an
 12'. [ú-e-ḫ]a-at-ta DUMU-la-aš-ša-wa-aš-ša-an an-ni-iš-ši
 [an-da-an QA-TAM-MA] ú-e-ḫa-at-ta-ru
-
- 14'. [da-a-]ú nu-wa ku-ut-ta-aš ša-lu-i-{ša-}na-an
 [GIM-an Ú-U]L ú-e-mi-iz-zi DUMU-la-an-na-wa
 16'. [QA-TAM-MA li-e ú-]e-mi-iz-zi
-
- [DU]MU²-an ú-da
 18'. []×-it-wa ú-i-te-ni-it
 []×-an-za
 20'. [-k]i²-an-za
 []×

a. over erasure

- [...] and the head of ...
 2'. [...] I [...] ed.
 § 8'' [...] she pours forth.
-
- 4'. [...] ... I brought here.
 § 9'' [...] "You speak continually: 'Go!, him (the child?)
 6'. [...] give!'"
-
- § 10'' [...] she responded to the gods:
 8'. "[...] and we are thereby taking (evil?) from someone (i.e., so-and-so?).
 Let her go,
 [...] the *tarpatarpa*-plant of the [f]ield let her take! And as that of the
 field (i.e., the *t*.-plant),
 10'. let him (the child) in his [moth]er likewise turn!
-
- § 11'' "[Let her go?!] Braziers? let her take! And as the door
 12'. [in the socket? tu]rns, let the child [in] his mother
 [likewise] turn!
-
- 14'. "[Mortar? let her tak]e! And [as] the mortar of the wall
 § 12'' [...] does [no]t find,
 16'. [may evil? likewise not f]ind the child!
-
- § 13'' "[... the ch]ild? bring!
 18'. [...] ... with water
 19'–21'. (traces)

Commentary

Goetze, JCS 18, 1964, 91, pronounced this rather fragmentary one-columned tablet a "ritual concerning pregnancy and childbirth." In fact, this tablet appears to have contained at least two rituals—note the double paragraph stroke following obv. 12' and what seems to be an introductory formula in obv. 13'.

To judge from UN-*aš* DUMU-*an anda aušzi* in obv. 11', the first text was possibly a birth ritual, but its poor state of preservation makes this uncertain. The second portion may be assigned with greater certainty to the sphere of birth. §§ 10''–11'' seem to be incantations of the analogic magic type intended to induce the child to turn within his mother's body immediately prior to birth.

§ 12'' may be a charm pertaining to the birth itself, and it is possible that the almost totally destroyed § 13'' refers to the washing of the new-born (cf. rev. 18': *ú-i-te-ni-it*, "with water").

Nothing in the preserved portion of the text allows us to assign it to a particular cultural group within Hatti. The composition—speaking now of the second ritual, not enough of the first remaining to justify a statement—is to be dated no later than the early fourteenth century. Note the use of the enclitic possessive pronoun (*anni-ši*, rev. 10', 12'),¹⁷² the use of the AZ-sign to express the reflexive particle (rev. 8', 11'),¹⁷³ and the spelling *ú-e-mi-iz-zi* (rev. 15', 16').¹⁷⁴ However, the employment of the AŠ-sign for the Akkadogram *INA* (obv. 9'), the younger spellings *kiš-an* (obv. 13')¹⁷⁵ and *GIM-an* (rev. 11'), as well as the late shape of LI (rev. 3'), show that we are dealing with a thirteenth-century copy here.

obv. 4'. For the restoration here, cf. rev. 12' and 13'.

obv. 6'. For *ša/epik(k)ušta-*, see above, pp. 63f.

In this and the following lines I have assumed that the subject of the verbs is a female, since a majority of the persons active in the Hittite birth rituals is of that sex.

obv. 7'. For ^{G13}*niniyala-* as "cradle," see Otten, Introduction to KUB XXXV, III.

obv. 13'. For the restoration and translation here, see Text L rev. 1.

obv. 14'ff. The fragmentary §§ 5'–7' are obscure, but may contain a mythological reference to the procurement of the offering and magic materials—cf. Text C rev. 8'.

rev. 8'. The restoration in this line is based on a comparison with Text L rev. 11: *nu-wa-kán a-pád-da-ma ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki tu₄-um-me-ni*. Cf. also KUB XVII 8 IV 16f.: *nu-wa-kán a-pád-da ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki tum-me-e-ni*; *ibid.* 21f.: *UM-MA^d Kam-ru-ši-[pa nu-wa-kán a-pád-da] ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki tum-me-ni*; and KBo XII 89 II 3: *[nu-wa-kán a-pa]-q-at-ta ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki tum-me-ni*. In each instance this sentence stands at or near the beginning of an incantation.

To the spelling *du-me-ni*, cf. *tu-me-ni* (KBo XXV 8:2') and *tu-me-e-ni* (XLIII 25:12').

172 See HE I² § 106.

173 See Hoffner, JNES 31, 1972, 32, and Winkels, Diss 51.

174 See Houwink ten Cate, Records 16.

175 See Oettinger, StBoT 22, 32–33.

The subject of the imperatives in this and the following line, as well as in rev. 11' and 14' could possibly be the mother, who would thus participate in the rites of analogic magic by associating herself (and thus also the unborn child) with the objects indicated. On the other hand, *pa-id-du*, "let her go!", in rev. 8' (and also in rev. 11'¹⁷⁾) suggests, if taken literally,¹⁷⁶ an activity too strenuous for a woman in labor. In this case the subject would be a ritual practitioner.

rev. 9'. For *tarpatarpa*-, see Hoffner, AlHeth 112. Perhaps this plant was used in a simile involving the verb *weh*- because it was somehow knotted or twisted in appearance.

rev. 11'. There are three homophonous nouns *haš(ša)*- in Hittite.¹⁷⁷ *haš(š)*-, "soap(plant)," however, never appears in the plural,¹⁷⁸ while *hašša*-, "grand-child; descendant," is attested only once¹⁷⁹ outside of the fixed expression *hašša- hanzašša*-.¹⁸⁰ Therefore, we probably have to do here with the third alternative, *hašša*-, "hearth; brazier."¹⁸¹ A plural accusative with the identical spelling *ha-a-aš-šu-uš* is found at KBo XV 34 II 11.

rev. 12'. Compare here KBo XXI 6 I 6:

[m]a-ab-ḫa-an-ma-aš-ša-an^{G1Š}[G^{G1Š}wa-wa-ar-ki-mi ú-e-iḫ-[ta-ri]

And as the door tur[ns] in the socket ...¹⁸²

Note that here and in rev. 15' complementation of DUMU indicates a stem in *-la*. Context, however, favors a translation "child" in general over "son" in particular, casting doubt on the suggestion of Lebrun, *Acta Orientalia Belgica* 2, 1980, 47, that the complementation in *-la* may distinguish "fils" from the more usual *-a* denoting simple "enfant."

176 But see HE I² § 312.

177 See HW¹ 62.

178 For this word, see Bossert, *FuF* 29, 1953, 211–13.

179 XXI 27 III 44, where it is an epithet of the goddess Zintuḫḫi.

180 See Melchert, *RHA XXXI*, 1973, 57–60.

181 For the hearth/brazier in cult, see Archi, *SMEA* 16, 1975, 77–87.

182 See Otten, *ZA* 50, 1952, 235.

Fa I [] × ZI × × [

2'. *nam-ma* DUG KA.DÙ NAG[^{GIS}LAM.GAL¹ *gul-aš-zi* n[a-at²4'. *nu* ^{G1}A.DA.GUR^{U1.Ab} *tar-n*[a-i*an-da iš-ḥi-i-e-iz-zi* n[a-at²6'. ^{GIS}*wa-ar-du-li-in* pa-[*na-aš-ta* ^{DUG}*ḥu-u-up-pár šu-u*[n-na-i²8'. *ḥu-u-ma-an-da an-da iš-ḥu-u-w*[a-a-i*ka-ri-ya-an-zi na-at* A-NA[10'. *na-at a-ap¹-pi-iz-zi* UD-ti[EGIR-ŠÚ-ma 1 ^{DUG}KU-KU-UB ME-E 1 [^{DUG}KU-KU-UB KAŠ²]12'. 1 ^{DUG}KU-KU-UB *wa-al-ḥi* 1 ^{DUG}KU-K[U-UB *mar-nu-wa-an² da-a-i²*]*me-na-aḥ-ḥa-an-da-ma-kán* DINGIR ^{LU/M}[14'. *da-ga-a-an e-eš-zi nu ma²-*[*ḥa-ma-an-kán nam-ma-aš-ša-an*[16'. *nu-uš-ši* [] × ×-iz²-zi² e²-[

× [] × × [

18'. [i]š-ki-šq-aš-ma-qš-ši EGIR-a[n²

[1] DUG ME-E-ya-aš-ši a-wa-an[

20'. *nu ma-aḥ-ḥa-an ki-iš-ša-an* × [*nam-ma-aš-ša-an* ^{SAL}ŠA.ZU ga-[22'. *nu-uš-ša-an ša-ne-iz-zi k*[i-na-an-ta^Ì.DÙG.GA-ya-aš-ša-an la-ḥu-u-wa-ṭ[24'. ^{SAL}ŠA.ZU-ma *ki-iš-ša-an me-m*[a-i]*ša-ne-iz-zi-iš-ša-an pi-eš-š*[i-ya-mi26'. ^dAn-zi-li-iš-za ša-a-it ^d[Zu-uk-ki-iš-za ša-a-it²]GÙB-la-an-za ^{KUŠ}E.SIR ZAG-na-az [šar-ku-ut-ta ZAG-na-an-za-ma^{KUŠ}E.SIR]28'. GÙB-la-az šar-ku-ut-ta TÚG-za m[a²-

a. with duplicates XXXIII 36 (Fb) and Bo 4861 (Fc)

b. erasure follows

(traces)

-
- 2'. Further, a vessel of cheap beer for drinking [she pours out? ...]
 § 2' pistachio-wood she whittles?. An[d it? ...]
 4'. And drinking-straws she se[ts ...]
 she binds on. An[d it? ...]
 6'. the *wardulli*-plant [...]
 And the bowl she fi[lles ...]
 8'. All of them she th[rows] in [...]
 they cover. And them to [...]
 10'. And them on the last day [of pregnancy? ...]
-

- § 3' Thereafter, one jug of water, [one jug of beer?],
 12'. one jug of *walhi* (and) one ju[g of *marnuwan*? she takes?].
-

- § 4' And opposite, the deity [...]
 14'. on the ground it is. And [...]
 bound. Further [...]
 16'. And to her? ... [...]
 (traces)
 18'. But on her [b]ack, in revers[e ...]
 And [the one] jug of water to her, away [...]
-

- 20'. And when as follows [...]
 § 5' Further, the midwife [...]
 22'. And the crushed delicacies [...]
 And fine oil she pours [...]
 24'. But the midwife spea[ks] as follows:
-

- § 6' "The delicacies [I] thr[ow out ...]
 26'. Anzili became angry; [Zukki became angry].
 The left shoe on the right foot [she put; the right shoe]
 28'. on the left foot she put. A garment [...]
-

- ↑
TÚG.DINGIR^{LIM} ^awa-aš-za-kán TU-DI-IT-TI^{HI.A} EGIR-[(pa pa-aš-ki-
it)]
Fb
30'. nu-uš-ši^{TUG} hu-u-bi-ki a-ap-pi-iz-zi [(pi-ra-an hu-i-nu-ut)]
ha-an-te-iz-zi-ma-za ap-pi-iz-zi-az [(hu-i-nu-ut ša-ra-a-aš ti-ya-a)]t
32'. na-aš-kán i-ya-an-(ni-)iš IŠ-TU É.ŠA [(ta-pi-na-ma-az)]
↓
-
- Fb II [É-ir kam-ma-ra-aš IŠ-)BAT^{GIŠ}AB^{HI.A} tuh-hu-iš IŠ-BAT
6. [iš-ta-na-ni-iš-ša-an DINGIR^{MEŠ} ú-i-š]u-ri-ya-an-ta-at A-NA GUNNI-
ša-an
[^{GIŠ}kal-mi-ša-ni-iš ú-i-šu-ri-ya]a-an-da-at I-NA TÙR-kán UDU^{HI.A}
8. [ú-i-šu-ri-ya-an-da-at I-NA] É.GUD-kán GUD^{HI.A} ú-i-šu-ri-ya-an-da-at
[AMA-ŠU DUMU-ŠU-ya ú-i-šu-ri-a]n-da-at DAM-ZU^{LÚ}kán
10. [^{LÚ}MU-DU-ŠU-ya ú-i-šu-ri-ya-an-d]a-at
[GAL-iš-za^dUTU-uš EZEN-an⁷ hal-z]a-iš nu-za DINGIR^{MEŠ} GAL hal-
za-iš
12. [] ×-iz-zi e-du-un
[] ×-un U-UL
-
- Fa IV ŠA EN.SISKUR.SISKUR-iš-ša-an É-[ri an-da^{GIŠ}ZÉ-ER-TUM²]
2. wa-ra-ni^{GIŠ}ša-hi-iš wa^a-ra-n[i]
^{GIŠ}pár-nu-ul-li wa-ra-a-n[i]
4. ^{GIŠ}ERIN wa-ra-a-ni nu [e-hu EGIR-an i-ya-a[d-du-ma-at]
6. EGIR-an^{GIŠ}pár-nu-ul-li-m[a²
-
- ↑
an-da-ma-aš-kán ti-ya-a[t^dAn-z(i-li-iš^dZu-uk-ki-iš)]
8. ŠA EN.SISKUR.SISKUR É-ri g[(a²-ka¹-eš-ni^{GIŠ}hu-in-pa-an)]
kam-ma-ra-aš^{1b} tar-na-aš^{1b} ^{GIŠ}[AB^{HI.A} (tuh-hu-iš tar-na-aš)]
Fb
10. iš-ta-na-ni-iš-ša-an [DINGIR^{MEŠ}S(IG₅-ya-an-ta-at)]
A-NA GU[NNI-iš-]šga-[a(n^{GIŠ}kal-mi-ša-ni-)eš SIG₅-(ya-an-ta-at)]
↓
-
12. TÙR-kán UDU^{HI.A} SIG₅-an-t[a-at I-NA É.GUD-kán GUD^{HI.A} SIG₅-an-
ta-at]
AMA-ŠU DUMU-ŠU-ya SIG₅-an-ta-[at DAM-ZU^{LÚ}MU-DI-ŠU-ya²]
14. SIG₅-an-ta-[at]
-

a. over erasure

b. copy: -an

- § 7' "She pinned breast ornaments to the back of her divine robes.
 30'. She let the rear of her veil fall down in front,
 while the front she let fall down in back. She stood up,
 32'. and she went out of the *tapinama* chamber.
-
- Fb II ["Fog seiz]ed [the house]. Smoke seized the windows.
 6. [On the altar the gods were stif]led. On the hearth
 § 8' [the logs were stif]led. In the pen the sheep
 8. [were stifled. In] the stall the cattle were stifled.
 [The mother and her child were stif]led. The wife
 10. [and her husband were stif]led.
-
- § 9' ["The great Sun-god pro]claimed [a feast], and he invited the great gods
 12. [(saying:) '...'] I have eaten.
 [...] not

Fa IV "In the hou[se] of the offerant [olive-wood?]

2. burns. *šabi*-wood burn[s ...]
 § 10'' *parnulli*-wood burn[s ...]
 4. cedar burns. And [...] says:]
 'Hey! Co[me] back! [...]
 6. back! But *parnulli*-wood [...]
-
- § 11'' "But she enter[ed], [Anz]ili (and) Zukki.
 8. In the house of the offerant, in the *gakaēššar*,
 the fog loosed the floorboards², the smoke loosed the [windows],
 10. On the altar [the gods we]re fine.
 On the he[arth] the log[s were] fine.
-
12. "(In) the pen the sheep were fi[n]e. In the stall the cattle were fine].
 § 12'' The mother and her child were fin[e]. The wife and her husband]
 14. were fin[e].
-

- ^dUTU-i *ba-lu-ga-aš pa-it ú-[it-wa-ra-aš^d An-zi-li-iš]*
 16. *ú-it-wa-ra-aš^d Zu-uk-k[i-]i[š]*
ki-nu-un-za e-it^{1c}-mi e-ku-mi[
 18. *ki-nu-un-za hu-u-uṣ-am-mi ki-nu-u[n-za^d*

^dAn-zi-li-iš *wa-ab-nu-ut[na-aš-za (e-šq-at)]*
 20. *na-aš-za kat-ta-an ú-nu-wa-an-[ta-aš (GIS^hba-tal-ki-eš-na-aš e-š)a-at]*
na-as-za še-ir gul-aš-ša-an-ti^c A-[(NA e-×) e-ša-at]
 22. *ZAG-an-ma-an-za-an^f ŠU-an pa-ra-a e¹-[ip-ta[?] (NINDA¹.KA×UD)]*
ka-du-pa-a-it^g nu-uš-ša-an ku-[it-ta[?] A-N(A GIS^hBANŠUR ki-it-ta-
r)i]
 24. *nu hu-u-ma-an ka-du-pa-a-it [EGI(R.ŠU-ma MUN ŠA Ú.SAL u-wa-ni-*
y)a-a-z]
ka-du-pa-a-it Ú.SAL^{LUM} u-w[(a-ni-ya-az-kán ma-ab-ba-an ×)
 26. *Ú-UL zi-in-na-at-ta-ri [EGIR-Š(U KUR-an-za da-an-du-ki-eš-na-aš*
D)UMU-an]
[uš²]-kī-iz-zi a-pa-a-ša [(EGIR-an-da EGIR-an-d)a

 28. *[Š(A E)]N.SISKUR.SISKUR-ya-kán Tī-tar [(a)-*
×-ya-wa-la KUR-az li-e zi-i[n-na-at-ta-ri]
 16'. *[Š]A EN.SISKUR.SISKUR-ya-{at}-kán T[I-tar URU-az[?] li-e]*
[z]i-in-na-at-ta-ri ŠA E[N.SISKUR.SISKUR-ya-kán Tī-tar]
 18'. *É.ŠA-az li-e zi-in-n[a-at-ta-ri]*
[na-]at uk-tu-u-ri e-eš-[t/du]

 20'. *[nu-]za BAPPIR šq-[]-× (-)in-ti-×[*
[]×-ta-an-na []EN i[t-
 22'. *[] × × [*

c. copy: *e-eš-ul-mi*

d. the few signs remaining in Fc obv. 1' and 2' cannot be placed within the text of Fa—they are:

1'. *[k]i²-e²[(-)]*

2'. *[-b]a-ti k[i-*

e. Fc obv. 6': *gul-ša-an-ti*

f. Fc obv. 7': *ZAG-an-ma-za-an*

g. Fc obv. 8': *ka-du-pa-it*

- § 13" "The message went to the Sun-god: '[She] has c[ome, Anzili!]
 16. She has come, Zukk[i]! Then the Sun-god replied?:]
 'Now I will eat (and) drink! [...]
 18. Now I will prepare (a meal)?! Now [...]
-
- § 14" "Anzili turned, [and on ...] she sat [down].
 20. And she s[at] down under the bedeck[ed] *ḫatalkešna*- tree.
 And she [sat down] on the carved [...]
 22. But she h[eld] out her right hand [...] a tooth-loaf
 she consumed?. And what[ever ...] lay on the table—
 24. everything she consumed?. [There]after, the salt of the meadow from the
 saltlick
 she consumed?. As the meadow from the saltlick
 26. is not exhausted—[afterward] the land [in]spect[s] the mort[al]—
 and [may] this one forever after [not be exhausted?!]
-
28. "And the life [of] the offerant [...]
 Fc 15'. ... from the land may not b[e exhausted!]
 16'. The l[ife] of the offerant [from the city? may not]
 § 15" be exhausted! [The life] of the of[ferant]
 18'. from the inner chamber may not be ex[hausted!],
 [but] let it b[e] eternal!"
-
- 20'. [And] "beer-bread" ... [...]

Commentary

Otten was the first to suggest that this variant of the "Vanishing God" myth is a birth ritual.¹⁸³ This type of ritual/mythological text, as Otten has elsewhere shown,¹⁸⁴ was employed to resolve real-life crises, and as Güterbock has noted,¹⁸⁵ the presence of the midwife (Fa I 21', 24') makes it likely that this particular text was intended for the relief of a woman experiencing difficulties

183 See Introduction to KUB XXXIII, III.

184 See ÜberlTM 60f., and histQuellen 114. See also Haas, KN 142ff., and Güterbock, "Hittite Mythology," in *Mythologies of the Ancient World*, ed. S.N. Kramer (New York, 1961), pp. 143–48.

185 JAOS 84, 1964, 115, and *Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft* Bd. I (Wiesbaden, 1978), pp. 243f.

in giving birth. Thus it may be termed a parturition ritual.¹⁸⁶ Unfortunately we learn little from it about Hittite birth practices, since the ritual activities in the preserved portions are intended solely for the placation of angry deities (here Anzili and Zukki), and are not actions specifically restricted to birth.¹⁸⁷

The use of -ŠÚ to express the Akkadian possessive pronoun in Fa I 11' indicates a thirteenth-century date¹⁸⁸ for the main exemplar, but the absence of any late grammatical or orthographic features, plus the likely Middle Hittite date of Fc¹⁸⁹ and possibly also of Fb¹⁹⁰ shows that the composition itself is considerably older. This text, like the closely related "Myth of Telepinu" is an amalgam of Hattic and Luwian elements.¹⁹¹

The most important previous treatments of this text are a transliteration by Laroche of the entirety of Fa and Fb in RHA 77, 1965, 135–38, and Güterbock's translation and brief discussion of Fa I 26'–Fb II 10 in JAOS 84, 1964, 115.

Fa I 2' ff. It is unfortunate that § 2' is not completely intelligible, for if *a-ap'-pi-iz-zi* UD-*ti* refers to the final day of pregnancy, it might represent a partial description of the preparation of the mother for delivery.

Fa I 2'–4'. These lines describe the concocting of a potion—fragments of pistachio-wood (and perhaps something else, lost at the end of I 3') suspended in a vehicle of beer. For the restoration *tarn[ai]* cf. KBo X 45 IV 7f.:

nu-kán DUG KA.DÚ NAG *la-hu-wa-i*
nu ^{GI}A.DA.GUR ^ULA *tar-na-a-i*

Fa I 6'. For the plant *wardulli-*, see Jakob-Rost, THeth 2, 72, and Burde, StBoT 19, 27.

Fa I 14'. For *dagan* as the locative of *tekan-*, "earth," see Neu, "Lokativ" 8–13.

186 Note also the similarity of this text to Text R, which is said in its colophon to be concerned with birth.

187 Laroche, Cat² 76, n. 2, suggests some connection between this text and CTH 439, a ritual performed for Anzili and Zukki. It is, however, unlikely that CTH 439 belongs with this composition since the ritual activities carried out there are different than those usually found in the ritual portion of "Vanishing God" texts.

188 See Neu, StBoT 18, 51.

189 Older forms of TAR (obv. 14') and E (obv. 5', 6', etc.) are present, while EN (obv. 14', 16') shows the shape found in StBoT 20 only in the Middle Hittite Sp. VI (i.e., KUB XVII 21).

190 Note the older shapes of TAR (III 5') and E (II 12).

191 See Haas/Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 22 ff.

Fa I 22'. For the restoration, cf. VII 60 II 12f.: *nu ša-ne-iz-zi ki-na-an-ta ha-aš-ši-i pi-iš-(šī-)ya-az-zi*, and KBo XV 32 I 9: *ša-ne-iz-zi an-da ki-na-an-ta*. For *kinai-* as “crush; destroy,” see Riemschneider, FsGüterbock 274, and for the adjective *šanezzi-*, “first-class, desirable,” substantivised¹⁹² (n.pl. as shown by the passages quoted above) as “the desirable things” = “delicacies,” cf. also VBoT 58 IV 40'–41' (RHA 77, 1965, 87):

ma-a-an lu-uk-kat-ta BE-EL DINGIR^{LIM} PA-NI DINGIR^{LIM} pa-iz-zi ša-ne-iz-zi[i]

ša-me-še-iz-zi hu-uk-ma-a-uš hu-uk-zi

When it becomes morning the “lord of the god” goes before the deity. He burns the delicacies (and) recites incantations.

Fa I 24'. This line indicates that the mythological narrative which follows was spoken by the midwife. The remainder of the preserved text (through § 15'') was probably also part of this speech, although not indicated as such by the presence of *-wa(r)-*.

Fa I 26'. The restoration, from Laroche, RHA 77, 1965, 136, is fairly certain. One might object that the verbs in the next lines are singular in number (e.g., *šar-ku-ut-ta*, I 28'), but in fact the two deities Anzili and Zukki, who most often appear in one another's company,¹⁹³ were probably regarded here as a single entity—cf. *Fa IV 7: an-da-ma-aš-kán ti-ya-a[t^d An-z(i-li-iš^d Zu-uk-ki-iš)]*.

The character of these deities cannot be determined with any precision from the available attestations.¹⁹⁴ Text F indicates only a connection with birth and a female sex¹⁹⁵ for the two divinities. Further evidence for an association with birth is presented by CTH 484, in which Anzili and Zukki are placated along

¹⁹² See already Ehelolf, OLZ 1933, 5.

¹⁹³ Their association is not invariable, however, as stated by Laroche, Rech 79—in VII 25 I 7 and 12, for example, only Anzili is mentioned.

¹⁹⁴ See Laroche, Rech 79, (Jakob-)Rost, MIO 8, 1963, 205, and Haas/Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 144, n. 2. Add now XXXII 87 rev. 2', 22', 32'; XLII 87 V 7'; and XLVIII 105 rev. 16, and cf. the woman's name 'An-zi-li-iš, XL 80 obv. 5, 6, 9.

¹⁹⁵ Note especially § 7', where the *hubiki*, characteristic feminine headdress, is worn. For this piece of clothing, see Laroche, RHA 68, 1961, 25–26. Note also the Bildbeschreibung XXXVIII 19 + IBoT II 102 rev. 8'–10':

^d*An-zi-li-iš* ALAM KÙ.BABBAR SAL^{7f}

pār-qa-aš-ti-ya-at 1 U.TU (error for UP-NU^{7f}) 3 ŠU.SI

ZAG-za ŠU-za GAL KÙ.BABBAR *har-zi* GAM-an-š[i

Anzili: a silver female image [...] And in height it (is) one hand⁷ (and) three fingers [...] In her right hand she holds a silver goblet. Beneath he[r] ...

with the Mother-goddesses and the Fate-deities.¹⁹⁶ Note, for example, XV 31 I 1–2 (Haas/Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 148):

DINGIR.MAH^{H¹A} ^dGul-ša-aš ŠA DINGIR^{MEŠ} NÍ.TE^{MEŠ}-aš UN-aš DINGIR.
MAH^{MEŠ}
^dZu-uk-ki-in An-zi-li-in KASKAL-az kiš-an hu-u-it-ti-ya-an-zi

The Mother-goddesses (and) the Fate-deities of the persons of the gods, the Mother-goddesses of human(s), Zukki (and) Anzili they draw back from the road as follows:

Fa I 29'. For the group of signs written over the erasure at the beginning of this line Güterbock apud Laroche, RHA 77, 1965, 136, reads TÚG-an-ši-wa-za-kán, which, however, involves a pleonism of indirect objects (-ši- and -za-) as well as an isolated appearance of the particle -wa(r)-. I therefore follow Melchert, JCS 31, 1979, 63, with n. 14, in reading TÚG.DINGIR^{LIM}-wa-aš-za-kán, although no other occurrences of TÚG.DINGIR^{LIM}-u-, “divine robe(s),” are known to me. In his transliteration, Laroche—followed here by Melchert—indicates that a numeral 2 immediately follows the disputed group of signs, but this is not to be seen on the copy.

For TUDITTU, “(woman’s) breast ornament,” see now AHW 1365f., with appearances as an Akkadogram in Hittite texts listed in section 4.

Fb II 9. [AMA-ŠU DUMU-ŠU-ya ú-i-šu-ri-ya-a]n-da-at is restored after *Fa IV 13–14*: AMA-ŠU DUMU-ŠU-ya SIG₅-an-ta-[at DAM-ZU-kán^{L^U}MU-DU-ŠU-ya] SIG₅-an-ta-[at], where the second sentence is correspondingly restored with the aid of *Fb II 9–10*. [^{L^U}MU-DU-ŠU-ya] in both instances is not certain, but very probable.

Fb II 12. Laroche, RHA 77, 1965, 137, suggests [ša-n]e[?]-iz-zi, which finds support in *Fa I 25*, but which does not seem to fit the traces.

Fa IV 1. The sense of the complementation in EN.SISKUR.SISKUR-iš-ša-an is not clear. Is it to be analysed as EN.SISKUR.SISKUR-iš-šan or EN.SISKUR.SISKUR-i=šan? After ŠA one expects no case ending at all, as below in *IV 8*, or perhaps a genitive complementation in -aš.

¹⁹⁶ It is extremely unlikely that Anzili and Zukki are identical with ^dGulšeš DINGIR.MAH^{H¹A}, as suggested by Laroche, Rech 79. First, both DINGIR.MAH^{H¹A} and ^dGulšeš are plural, while the deities in question are each singular. Secondly, apposition does not seem to be a possibility in the passage from XV 31 quoted here. Thirdly, in X 50 ^dAn-zi-li-in appears in I 4, while ^dGul-šu-uš is found in I 7, where apposition is again unlikely.

Fa IV 2ff. Various woods are burned here in order to propitiate Anzili and Zukki. Cf. XXXIII 84 + IV 6ff.,¹⁹⁷ where the monster Hedammu is administered a potion consisting in part of *šahi-* and *parnulli-*.

Fa IV 8. Otten, ZA 54, 1961, 143, cites ^{GIŠ}*bu-in-pa-an* as a variant of ^{GIŠ}*buimpa-*, “Holzfußboden?”¹⁹⁸ which, as first determined by Laroche, RA 41, 1947, 87, in any case designates a part of a building. In the passage giving rise to Otten’s comments (VII 41 I 20–21), *buimpa-* is also the object of *tarna-*.

Fa IV 12. For the restoration *SIG₅-an-ta-[at]* here and in lines 13 and 14, see StBoT 5, 108, n. 7.

Fa IV 18. *bu-u-up-am-mi*: The problem of *bu(p)-/bu(p)ai-/buwap(p)-* is complicated and cannot yet be resolved, despite the large amount of relevant textual material available. Friedrich, HW¹, 1.Erg. 7, understood all occurrences of these stems as representing a single verb “schlecht behandeln, schädigen,” but this definition hardly fits all the contexts involved.

In fact, the meaning “harm” seems correct only for the stem *buwap(p)-*, which is closely related to the adjective *buwappa-*, “evil,” and which always takes a dative object and the sentence-particle *-kan*.¹⁹⁹ On the other hand we have a verb *bu(p)-/bu(p)ai-*, whose orthography was on occasion conflated with that of the preceding verb. A very common construction involving this word is that with the double accusative (most often with *šakuwa*/IGI^{U1.A}, “eyes”) and the sentence-particle *-šan*.²⁰⁰ Despite the efforts of Oettinger to explain it,²⁰¹ this construction remains unclear.

But in regard to Text F, the relevant passages are those in which *bu(p)-/bu(p)ai-* is found in connection with mealtimes or offerings. Note here Bo 3083 III:

25'. ... UGULA ^{LÚ.MEŠ}MUHALDIM *me-ma-al*

26'. *bu-up-pa-a-iz-zi* ^{NA4}*bu-wa-ši-ya-aš*

27'. *pí-ra-an* 3-ŠU *ši-pa-an-ti*

28'. *nam-ma bu-up-pa-a-iz-zi*

29'. *ba-aš-ši-i* 1-ŠU *ši-pa-an-ti*

30'. ^d*Dam-na-aš-ša-ra-an pí-ra-an*

31'. 1-ŠU *ši-pa-an-ti* ...

197 See StBoT 14, 58.

198 No other examples of the stem in *-n-* are known.

199 Cf. XXI 17 I 9; XXVI 1 III 43; XXVI 43 obv. 62.

200 E.g., KBo XVII 88 II 8f.; KBo XX 67 II 51'f., 60'f.; IBoT III 114 rev. 3.

201 StBoT 22, 43. In the Glossar, p. 103, he includes the entry “*bu(wa)ppa-* ‘böse behandeln’; *šakuwa katta buwappa-* m. Akk. ‘jem. aufs Antlitz werfen.’”

The overseer of the cooks *h*.'s the groats; before the cult stone he offers three times. Again he *h*.'s; at the hearth he offers once; for the sphinx⁷ he makes offering.

Cf. also KBo XXIV 115 I² 20': L¹U¹.MEŠ¹MUḪALDIM *ḫu-up-pa-iz-zi*, "the cooks *ḫ*," and 819/u:4: ZÍZ *me-ma-al ḫu-u-up-pa-a-iz-zi*, "wheat groats he *ḫ*.'s." Finally, VBoT 58 IV 32'–33' (RHA 77, 1965, 86) reads:

3 DUG^{H1.A}.GEŠTIN-*na mar-nu-an KAŠ LĀL* 3 DUG¹KU-KU-UB^{H1.A} *ú-e-te-na-aš QA-D[U]*
 GAL Ī.DÜG.GA GAL LĀL GAL Ī.NUN²⁰² *ša-ne²⁰²-iz-zi ki-na-an-da ki-i ḫu-u-pa-a²⁰²⁻ⁱ[z-zi]²⁰³*

And three wine vessels—(one each of) *marnuwan*, beer (and) honey—three jugs of water, together with a beaker of fine oil, a beaker of honey (and) a beaker of butter are mashed together as a delicacy. These things he *ḫ*.'s.

ḫup(p)-/ḫup(p)ai- in this usage has as its object both groats and liquids, and in the passages quoted here it seems to indicate an activity preparatory to the repast or offering. In Text F also it is associated with verbs of eating and drinking.

Hoffner has recently²⁰⁴ put forth for *ḫup(p)-/ḫup(p)ai-* the meaning "gather together into a pile," and as a technical term of the culinary art this may be construed more particularly as "blend, combine,"²⁰⁵ and perhaps even taken generally as a designation for culinary activity as a whole, i.e., "combine (ingredients)" = "prepare (a meal)."²⁰⁶

Fa IV 19. As a transitive verb, *waḫnu-* normally requires an object, but Freydank, MIO 7, 1962, 374, has demonstrated an intransitive-reflexive construc-

202 Readings from Laroche, RHA 77, 1965, 86. On p. 81 Laroche states that he collated AO 4703 (= VBoT 58) in the Louvre. Goetze's copy shows UDU, NI, and AN, respectively.

203 Laroche, RHA 77, 1965, 86, n. 11, suggests a comparison with XXVII 29 III 8: *nu EN.SISKUR 7-ŠU ḫu-u-up-pa-a-iz-zi*.

204 Ffinkelstein 105–06.

205 Is the unclear KBo III 34 I 3 ("Palace Chronicle"): *še L¹U¹NINDA.DÜ.DÜ ḫu-u-up-pi-ir*, "and they *ḫ*. the baker," the result of a scribal misunderstanding of a passage originally referring to this activity, or a particularly cruel punishment?

206 It is uncertain how the employment of *ḫup(p)-/ḫup(p)ai-* in musical contexts relates to this usage—cf. KBo VIII 74 + + III 13'f. (StBoT 25, Nr. 137); KUB XL 97 III 2'ff.; and KBo XV 59 III 5'f. Oettinger, H&I 199, translates *ḫu-u-pi-iš-kán-zi* in this last passage as "zapfen."

tion *pedi waḥnu-*, “turn (oneself) in place,” and an ellipsis of this expression is probably present here.

Fa IV 22. ZAG-*an=man=za=šan*: The particle of unreality *-man-* is out of place here. Fc obv. 7', which reads ZAG-*an-ma-za-an* (i.e., ZAG-*an=ma=za=šan*) undoubtedly better reflects the original text.

Fa IV 23. *kadupai-*, a verb unattested elsewhere,²⁰⁷ seems from context to indicate the consumption of food.

Fa IV 24. As a source of salt associated with a pasture, *uwani-* can only be a saltlick. This Luwian word is also found in a Hittite context at KBo XXIII 41:11: *da-aš-šu-uš ḫal-ki-iš ʾa-li ʾu-wa-ni-ya-aš LI-IM*], and has already been recognized by Laroche²⁰⁸ as a source of salt in Luwian texts. The Glos-senkeilwort *ʾlapanuwanni-*, defined by CHD III, 41, as “summer grazing ground,” must rather be recognized as a compound of *ʾlapanā-*, “summer pasture,” and *uwan(n)i-*, that is, “saltlick of the summer pasture ground.”²⁰⁹

Fa IV 26–27. [(*da-an-du-ki-eš-na-aš D*)UMU-*an uš*]-*ki-iz-zi*: Cf. Text E obv. 11': UN-*aš DUMU-an anda aušzi*. The “mortal” here and the “offerant” in the following paragraph must refer to the new-born.

Fc rev. Only a few signs have been preserved here, most of the surface having split off. All that remains is:

1'. ŠUM-a[n

2'. nu ^aU[TU

3'. × × [

207 Cf. only XXXIII 33:12': *kad-du-u-wa-i[t²]*, and XXXIII 79 II 9': *kad-du-wa-i-i[t²]*. In comparison to these passages, restore XXXIII 10 III 3: [ŠA-]it-za-ta LAL-it zi-in-ni-i[t kad-du-(u-)wa-(i-)it].

208 DLL 106.

209 For such compounds, see Hoffner, Or ns 35, 1966, 388–92.

Text G = KUB XVII 28 II 1–32

II ŠI-PÁT e-eš-ḫa-na-aš ma-a-an-za SAL-za ḫ[a-a-ši]

2. nu e-eš-ḫa-ar-še-it a-ri-it-ta n[a-an kiš-an]

ḫu-uk-mi ta-ḫa-aš-tu-uš-tu^a tu-u-m[i-el]4. ka-a-ap-tu-u^a Ta-ru pát-ta-pi-eš-×[

tu-ut-ḫa-aš-šu-u-ul li-e-ti-it[

6. li-e-tu-u-mi-el 5-ŠU te-×[

ŠI-PÁT ḫu-wa-an-da-aš ma-a-an-za ḫa-a-ši na-aš Ū-[UL]

8. ḫu-un-ta-ri-ya-it-ta na-an kiš-an ḫu-u[k-mi]

(A Hattic-language incantation follows in II 9–32.)

a. erasure follows

“Incantation of Blood”–When a woman is giv[ing birth]

2. and her bleeding is inhibited, then [for her as follows]

3–6. I conjure: (Hattic)

“Incantation of the Wind”–When (a woman) is giving birth, and she
does n[ot]

8. break wind, then for her I con[jure] as follows:

9–32. (Hattic)

Commentary

KUB XVII 28 is a Sammeltafel. The colophon (IV 57– 59) reads:

57. 6 ŠI-PÁT QA-TI *mā-a-an-na* ^dXXX-aš *ša-ki-ya-az-zi*

58. *mā-a-an-na* ERÍN^{MES} LÚKUR-aš *ḫu-ul-li-ya-az-zi*

59. ŠU ^mSA₅-pa-la

Six incantations, complete. (Including:) “When the Moon-god Gives an Omen” and “When the Enemy Defeats the Army.” Written by SA₅-pala.

Among the compositions here recorded are the rituals for a defeated army CTH 458.2 (II 33–IV 44) and CTH 426.2 (IV 45–56).²¹⁰ The two conjurations dealing with birth (more specifically, with delivery) are in the Hattic language, but are introduced by Hittite protases.

As Hattic texts, the incantations are relatively old–Kammenhuber has estimated that active knowledge of Hattic was lost by 1400 B.C.²¹¹ The use of the enclitic possessive pronoun in the Hittite lines (*e-eš-ḫa-ar-še-it*, II 2) also shows that these are rather early. Evidence that this tablet is a later copy, however, is found in the spelling *kiš-an* (II 8).²¹²

II 2. For *a-ri-it-ta* here, see Neu, StBoT 5, 12–13.²¹³

²¹⁰ See Masson, RHR 137, 1950, 5 ff.

²¹¹ HbOr 430.

²¹² See StBoT 22, 32.

²¹³ Although Houwink ten Cate, FsBöhl, 209, admits only a single verb *arai-/ariya-*, “lift up; rise up,” the present passage seems to require the postulation of a separate verb *arai-*, “inhibit.”

II 3–6. According to Kammenhuber's interpretation of these Hattic lines,²¹⁴ this incantation calls upon the Storm-god to release his rain. This would be analogous to the hoped-for onset of bleeding in the woman prior to delivery.

II 7f. For *huntariya-*, see Neu, StBoT 5, 60. In n. 1 he suggests a restoration $^U[zuarran]$ or $^U[zuarraš]$ for the end of this line, that is, an indication of the part of the body involved in the flatulence. This would be redundant, however, and Otten's reading $\dot{U}$ -[UL]²¹⁵ is preferable. Since flatulence is a normal prelude to giving birth, its absence would be an ominous, if not indeed medically dangerous, sign. This interpretation also brings the occasion of the second incantation into parallelism with that of the first, where an expected phenomenon fails to occur.

Text H = KUB IX 22 and Duplicates

The five duplicates to IX 22 often differ from the main text, especially in the placement of paragraph strokes. For the greater part of the edition, I have given the text as represented by IX 22, with the paragraphs divided as in that text. Variant readings found in the duplicates have been indicated in the textual apparatus. Col. I of IX 22 has largely been lost—at most three signs are now visible at the end of any one line—but that small portion of the tablet that does remain here shows that the text of this column originally consisted of approximately nine paragraphs. Therefore the numbering of the paragraphs in col. II of IX 22 here begins with § 10'. Since the text of KUB VII 39, however, contains three paragraphs which precede this § 10', these have been numbered §§ 7'–9'. Below is a chart showing the relationship of the duplicate texts. The sigla employed are as follows:

- Ha = KUB IX 22²¹⁶
- Hb = ABOT 17
- Hc = KUB VII 39²¹⁶
- Hd = KBo XVII 64
- He = 464/w = KBo XXX 1
- Hf = Bo 4876

214 MSS 17, 1964, 26.

215 StBoT 7, 26.

216 Prof. H. Otten has kindly made available to me his collations cf. cols. I and IV of Ha, as well as of Hc.

<i>Ha</i>	<i>Hb</i>	<i>Hc</i>	<i>Hd</i>	<i>He</i>	<i>Hf</i>
		1'—§ 7'			
		2'—§ 8'			
		4'—§ 9'			
		9'—			
II 1—	II 1'—	§§ 10'–11'			
4—	§ 11'	16'—			
8—	§ 12'				
11—	§ 13'				
14—	§§ 11'–16'				
17—	§ 14'				
21—	§ 15'				
27—	§ 16'			3'—	
30—	§ 17'			§§ 17'–19'	
	§ 18'				
37—	§ 19'			14'—	2'—
43—	§ 20'				§§ 19'–20'
49—					10'—
III 1—	§ 21'				
5—	§ 22'				
10—	§ 23'				
15—	§ 24'				
19—	§ 25'				
23—	III 1'—				
	§ 26'				
28—	§ 27'				
32—	§ 28'	§§ 26'–29'		4'—	
34—	§ 29'			§ 29'	
	§ 30'	12'—		6'—	
41—	§ 30'	13'—		7'—	
47—		§ 30'?		§ 30'?	
		15'—		11'—	
IV 1'—	§ 31'				
5'—					

Hc	[	]	<i>hql-hal-tu-u²-mq-ri(-) × ^a</i>
2'.	[	^G] ^{IS} KAK ^{U1.A} -ya	<i>še-ir</i> [
4'.	[	×	^{IS} KAK ^{U1.A} <i>še-ir</i> ^{DUG} LIŠ.GAL <i>da-a</i> -[<i>i</i>
			<i>na-aš-ta har-na-a-iš ku</i> -[<i>iš</i>
6'.	<i>na-aš-ta a-pí-e-el</i> [		<i>ki-e-iz</i>]
	<i>ki-e-iz-zi-ya</i>	^{IS} KA[K	
8'.	<i>an-da ki-e-iz ki-e-i</i> [<i>z-zi-ya</i>	^{IS} ERIN ^{IS} <i>pa-a-i-ni</i>	
	^{IS} ZĒ-ER-TUM	<i>i</i> [<i>š-ha-a-i</i>]	
10'.	[<i>nu</i> ²]	2 ^{DUG} KU ¹ -KU ¹ -UB	^{IS} GEŠTIN <i>da-a-i še</i> -[<i>ra-aš-ša-an</i> ² ^{IS} ERIN]
Ha	[^G] ^{IS} <i>pa-a-i-ni</i>	^{IS} ZĒ-ER-TUM	[<i>an-da iš-bi-ya-an</i> ^{2b} (<i>nu</i> 1 ^{EN} <i>kī-e-iz</i>)]
12'.	1 ^{EN} <i>ma ki-e-iz ga-an-k</i>	[<i>(i)</i>] ^c	
Ha II	[	(SAL-ya-kán ku-e-da-ni A-NA É.ŠÀ)]	<i>an-da-an</i> ^d <i>e-eš-zi</i>
5.	[	(<i>nu a-pí-e-da-ni A-NA É.ŠÀ a-r</i>)]	<i>a-a-b-za</i> 2 ^e ^{IS} KAK ^{U1.A}
6.	[	(<i>ki-e-iz</i> 1 ^{IS} KAK <i>ki-e-</i>)]	<i>iz-zi-ya</i> 1 ^{ENT}
Hc	[	(<i>wa-al-a</i>) <i>b-zi</i> ⁸ (<i>nam-ma-aš-ša-an A-N</i>)]	A ^{IS} KAK ^{U1.A}
8.	<i>an-dq</i> [(^{IS} ERIN ^{IS} <i>pa-i-ni</i> ^h ^{IS} Z)]	^{IS} Ē-ER-TUM-ya	<i>iš-ha-a-i</i> ^{1, i, k}
	^{DUG} KU-KU-UB	<i>im</i> -[	(4 ² <i>mu-ri-ya-</i>)] <i>li-iš</i> ¹
10.	<i>kat-ta ga-a</i> [(<i>n-k</i>) <i>án-te-eš</i> (^{IS} <i>š-u-ri-</i>)]	<i>ta-ya-kán</i>	
	<i>pí-ra-an a</i> [(<i>r-ha k</i>) <i>u</i> ² - <i>r</i>] <i>a</i> ² - <i>an-zi</i>		

a. so after collation

b. Ha II 2:]-te-eš

c. Although the text in Hc continues here, there is a paragraph stroke after [(ga-a)]n-ki in Ha II 3. From here the text, and the paragraph divisions, are according to Ha.

d. Hc 13': *an-da*

e. over erasure

f. Hc 15': 1-*an*

g. Hc 15': GUL-a[*b-zi*]

h. Hc 16': ^{IS}*pa-a-i-ni*

i. a long erasure is found under Ha II 8

j. Hb II 5: ^{IS}*i-ri-ip-pí-da iš-ha-a*-[*i*]

k. paragraph stroke lacking in Hb

l. text: UŠ; Hb II 6: *mu-ri-ya-li-iš*

Hc [...] corner[

2'. [...] and pegs above[

§ 8' [And] another bowl he tak[es

4'. [...] pegs above, with[

§ 9' And su[ch] *harnai* [as

6'. And of it [...] on one side]

and on the other side, a pe[g ...]

8'. –on one side [and] on the oth[er–cedar, tamarisk?]

(and) olive(-woods) he binds.

10'. [And] two jugs of wine he takes, (and) ab[ove ... cedar]

§ 10' tamarisk? (and) olive(-woods) [are bound on]. And one on this side,

12'. one on the other, he hangs.

Ha II And in whatever inner chamber the woman is,

§ 11' then outside of that inner chamber two pegs–

6. one peg on one side and one on the other side–

he poun[ds] (in). Further, on the pegs

8. cedar, tamarisk? and olive(-woods) he binds.

§ 12' A jug [...] (and) four? grape(shaped)-loaves

10. are hu[ng] down. And the ball of yarn?

one cuts? off in front.

12. nu ŠA SAL^a [(^{GIŠ}ŠÚ.A ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR ša-aš-)d]u¹-uš^b
^{GIŠ}GA-AN-NU-U[M (*ḥar-na-ú-un* SAL-ya) ^{LÚ}p]a-a-ti-li-iš^c
14. IŠ-TU MUŠEN [(^{HUR}RI *wa-aḥ-nu-*)uz-zí]^{d, e}
-
- Hb nu-za-kán [(SAL É.)Š(*À an-da zu-*)]úr-ki-ya
16. ši-pa-an-t[(i nu-za-)kán (^{ŠU}MEŠ-ŠU)] a-ar-ri
na-an^f [(*ḥar-na-ú-i pí-ra-an*)] an-dā pī-ḥu-da-an-zi
-
18. nu 1 MUŠEN.[(GAL *ḥa-a-ri-ya ši-pa-an-t*)]i 1 MUŠEN.GAL-ma
ḥa-a-pí-[(*ya it-kal-zi-ya k*)]u-la-mu-ši-ya^g
20. ši-pa-a[(*n-ti nu ḥar-*)]nā-q-i-īn^h ^{GIŠ}KAK^{BI.A}-ya
iš-ḥ[i-ya-a]n-zi
-
22. nu ^{GIŠ}ERIN ^{GIŠ}pa-i-ni ^{GIŠ}ZÉ-ER-TUMⁱ IŠ-TU SÍG SA₅
an-da iš-ḥi-ya-an na-at ^{LÚ}pa-ti-li-iš
24. da-a-i^k na-at-kán A-NA SAL^j i-pu-ul-li-ya-aš
an-da^l da-a-i Ì.DÜG.GA-ya-aš-ši-iš-ša-an
- ↓ 26. SAG.DU-ŠU la-ḥu-i^m A-NA QA-TI-ŠU-ya-aš-ši-iš-ša-an
SÍG SA₅ ḥa-ma-an-ki
-
- ↑ 28. nam-ma-kán ^{LÚ}pa-ti-li-iš ḥar-na-a-i-in IŠ-TU ^{DUG}LIŠ.GAL
IŠ-TU {^{GIŠ}} ^{GIŠ}ERIN ^{GIŠ}pa-i-ni ^{GIŠ}ZÉ-ER-TUM da-q-i
30. nu SAL KA×U-ŠUⁿ šu-up-pí-ya-aḥ-ḥi^o
-
- He nu-uš-ša-an ^{LÚ}pa-ti-li-iš ^{DUG}LIŠ.GAL ḥar-na-in
32. A-NA ^{GIŠ}KAK^{BI.A} še-ir da-a-i na-an-kán

a. Hb II 8: SAL^{TI}

b. Hb II 8: ša-aš-ta-an

c. Hb II 9 omits; erasure follows

d. Hb II 9: wa-aḥ-nu-[(wa-)an-zi]

e. an erasure is found under Ha II 14

f. Hb II 12 inserts ^{LÚ}pa-ti-li-iš

g. Hb II 14: ku-la-mur-ši-[ya]

h. Hb II 15: ḥar-na-a-in

i. Hb II 16 has only [^{GIŠ}i-ri-]ip-pí-daj. Hb II 17: SAL^{TI}

k. Hb omits this sentence

l. Hb II 18 inserts [^{LÚ}pa-ti-]li-iš

m. Hb II 19: [l]a-q-ḥu-ṣ-w[a-an-zi]

n. He 4': KA×U-ŠU

o. paragraph stroke omitted in He

12. And the chair, the table, the bed,
 § 13' the pot-stand (and) the birth-stool of the woman—and the woman
 herself—the *patili*-priest
 14. swing[s] (over) with a sheldrake.
-
- § 14' And the woman in the inner chamber
 16. sacrifices on her own behalf for *zurgi*. And she washes her hands.
 And one takes her in before the birth-stool.
-
18. And one duck to the path he sacrifices. But one duck
 § 15' to the *habi* for *itkalziya* (and) *kulamusiya*
 20. he sacrifices. And the birth-stool and the pegs
 one b[in]ds (together).
-
22. And cedar, tamarisk? (and) olive(-woods) with red wool
 § 16' are bound up. And the *patili*-priest
 24. takes them, and them on the woman, on the strap?
 he places. And fine oil
 26. he pours on her head, and to her hand
 he binds red wool.
-
28. Further, the *patili*-priest takes the *harnai* out of the bowl,
 § 17' together with the cedar, tamarisk? (and) olive(-woods).
 30. And the mouth of the woman he purifies.
-
- § 18' Then the *patili*-priest puts the bowl (and) the *harnai* (therein)
 32. on the pegs, and it (the bowl)

- še-ir iš-da-pí^a nu SAL [p]a-iz-zi ḥar-na-a-ú-i
 He 34. UŠ-KE-EN nam-ma-aš-ša-a[n] QA-TAM ḥar-na-a-ú-i
 pa-ra-a^b da-a-i nam-[m]a-aš-za e-ša-ri nu ^{LÚ}MU-ZA-ŠU
 36. ^{LÚ.MEŠ}pa-ti-li-e-e[š] ^{SAL.MEŠ}ka-at-ri-eš-ša
 pa-a-an-zi na-a[t] A-NA SAL UŠ-KE-EN-NU

 38. nu ^{LÚ}pa-ti-li-iš^c ḥar-na-a-ú-i
 pí-ra-an ši-ya-[iz-z]i ^{DUG}kap-pí-ma-aš-ša-an ku-iš
 40. ḥar-na-a-ú-uš la-ḥu-an-zi^d nu ŠA É.ŠA KÁ-aš^e ku-i-uš
 a-ra-aḥ-za pí-ra-an^f 2 ^{GIŠ}KAK ^{HI.Λ}wa-al-aḥ-zi
 42. nu-uš-ša-an ^{DUG}kap-pí-in^h ša-ra-a da-a-i
 Hf 43. še-ir-ma-an-kán iš-da-a-píⁱ

 44. nu A-NA ^{LÚ.MEŠ}pa-ti-li-e-eš^j ^{SAL.MEŠ}ka-at-ra-aš-ša^k
 a-da-an-na pí-ya-an-zi n[a-a]t-za
 46. ar-ḥa pa-a-an-zi ma-aḥ-ḥa-an-ma^l
 ne-ku-uz me-ḥur^m ki-ša-ri MU[L] wa-at-ku-zi
 48. na-aš-ta ^{LÚ}pa-ti-li-išⁿ an-da p[a-i]z-zi
 nu ḥ[ar-n]a-a-ḡ-ú-ṭ^o [p]í-ra-an ki-nu-u[z-z]i^p

- a. He 6': -ká]n⁷ iš-ta-pí
 b. He 8': ḥar-na-a-ú-]i QA-TAM da-a-i
 c. erasure follows
 d. He 13': [la-ḥ]u-an-za
 e. He 13': É.ŠA-ni KÁ-a[š]
 f. He 14' omits
 g. He 14': 2 GIŠ
 h. Hf 3': ^{DUG}kap-pí-i-in
 i. Hf 4': iš-tap-p[i]
 j. Hf 5': ^{LÚ}pa-ti-li-ya-aš
 k. Hf 5': ^{SAL.MEŠ}kat-r[a-
 l. Hf 7': GIM-[an-ma]
 m. Hf 8': me-e-ḥur
 n. Hf 9': ^{LÚ}pa-ti-liš
 o. Hf 10': [ḥar-na-]a-ú
 p. Hf 10': g[i-nu-uz-zi]

- he covers up. Then the woman goes and to the birth-stool
34. bows down. Further, (her) hand toward the birth-stool
she holds out. Further, she seats herself, and her husband,
36. the *patili*-priests and the *katra*-women
go, and they bow down to the woman.
-
38. And the *patili*-priest before the birth-stool
- § 19' makes a seal[ing] (of the chamber). But whatever *ḫarnai*¹ in a *kappi*-
measuring vessel
40. was poured,^a and whichever two pegs outside, before
the door of the inner chamber he pounds (in)– (these things he takes
and)
42. he puts the *kappi*-measuring vessel (of *ḫarnai*) on top
and covers it up.
-
44. And to the *patili*-priests and *katra*-women
- § 20' they give to eat. And they
46. go away. But when
it becomes night (and) a star twinkles,
48. then the *patili*-priest g[oe]s in
and makes a (ritual-)opening (of the chamber) before the birth-stool.
-

a. see commentary

Ha

III *na-aš-tq* SAL *an-da pí-e-ḫu-te-[iz-zi]*2. *na-aš ḫar-na-a-ú-i* UŠ-KE-E[N *nam-m*] *a-aš-ša-an*QA-TAM *pa-ra-a da-a-i* n[*a-aš-ta* I] Š-TU É.ŠÀ4. *pa-rq-a ú-iz-zi* nu ^L[^U*pa-ti-l*] *i-iš* É.ŠÀ*pí-rq-an ši-ya-i-[z-]zi*6. [nu-za-a]n SAL ^{GIŠ}N[^A^U^L^A-a]š *e-ša-ri nu-uš-ši*[*ki-i*]t-kar 1 ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR AD.KID *da-a-i*8. [nam-]ma-aš-ša-an ^{NINDA}na-ḫi-ti-in *da-a-i*[^{NINDA}n]a-ḫi-ti-ma-a[š-š]a-an *še-ir* ^dXXX^a ^dUTU10. ^UMUL *i-ya-an-te-eš*[n]a-aš-ta ^{LÚ}pa-t[i-]li-iš *ku-it* ^{GIŠ}ERIN12. [^{GI}]špa-i-ni ^{GIŠ}ZĒ-E[R-T]UM IŠ-TU SÍG SA₅[a]n-da iš-ḫi-ya-an A-NA SAL *i-pu-ul-li-ya-aš*14. [a]n-da da-iš *na-at-ši-kán ar-ḫa da-a-i*[n]a-at-ša-an ^{NINDA}na-ḫi-ti-i *kat-ta da-a-i*16. [nu] ^{LÚ}pa-ti-li-iš ^{DUK}[U-K]U-UB GEŠTIN A-NA SAL *pa-a-i*[a-]pa-a-ša-aš-ši 2 MÁŠ.TUR *pa-[r]a-a e-ip-zi*

18. [n]a-aš-kán SAL IŠ-TU GEŠTIN [š]i-pa-an-ti

[n]a-aš-kán ^{LÚ}pa-ti-li-iš *pa-ra-a pí-en-na-i*20. [n]a-aš-ša-an *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an* KASKAL-ša-a[š ḫ]a-at-ri-eš-na-aš[pa-r]a-a a-ri nu 1 MÁŠ.TUR A-NA^a [DINGIR.]LÚ^{MEŠ}š *ši-na-ap-ši-ya-aš*22. [ši-p]a-an-ti 1 MÁŠ.TUR-ma A-NA DINGIR.LÚ^{MEŠ}URU^{LIM}

[ši-pa-a]n-ti

24. [nu ^{LÚ}pa-t]i-li-iš EGIR-pa *ú-iz-zi*

[na-aš PA-N]I É.ŠÀ UŠ-KE-EN A-NA SAL-ya-aš

26. [UŠ-KE-]EN nu *ki-el-di ḫal-za-a-i*Hb [(nu-uš-)]š *a-ku-wa-an-na pí-ya-an-zi*28. [na-(aš-)]za *ar-ḫa pa-iz-zi*[(ḫu-u)]k-kat-tq-ma nu^a-za^b SAL *a-ar-rj^c*30. [(nu)] *ma-a-an* SAL *te-eš-ḫa-az^d pá-r-ku-i-iš^e*

a. over erasure

b. erasure follows

c. Hb III 4'-5': *lu-uk-kat-tq-ma* I-NA UD.3.KAM ^{LÚ}pa-t[i-li-iš] *pa-iz-zi* nu SAL *pu-nu-uš-zi*d. Hb III 6': *te-eš-ḫi-it*e. Hb III 6': *pár-ku-iš*

- III And he bring[s] the woman inside.
 2. And she bows down before the birth-stool. [Fur]ther,
 § 21' she holds out (her) hand. Then from the inner chamber she
 4. comes forth, and the [*patil*]i-priest before the inner chamber
 makes a sealing.
-
6. [And] the woman sits down on the b[ed]. And
 § 22' near her [he]ad he places one wickerwork table.
 8. [Fur]ther, he places a *naḫiti*-loaf (on it).
 And on the *naḫiti*[-loaf] the moon, the sun
 10. and the star(s) are modeled.
-
- § 23' And such cedar,
 12. tamarisk' (and) olive(-woods), bound up with red wool,
 as the *patili*-priest had placed on the woman, on the strap?
 14. (now) these he takes away from her,
 and he places them with the *naḫiti*-loaf.
-
16. [And] the *patili*-priest gives a jug of wine to the woman,
 § 24' while she hands over to him two young goats.
 18. And them the woman "sacrifices" with wine,
 and the *patili*-priest drives them away.
-
20. And when at the crossing of the road
 § 25' he arrives, then one young goat for the male [deities] of the *šinapši*
 22. he [sac]rifices, and (the other) young goat for the male deities of the city
 he [sacri]fices.
-
24. [And] the [*pat*]ili-priest comes back,
 § 26' [and he be]fore (the door of?) the inner chamber bows down, (and) to
 the woman
 26. he [bow]s down, and he cries "well-being!"
 And they give to him to drink,
 28. [and] he goes forth.
-
- § 27' The next morning^a the woman washes.
 30. And if she is (shown) by a dream (to be) pure,

a. Hb III 4 indicates that this is the third day

		$[(n)]a-an-k\acute{a}n$ ^{LÚ} $pa-ti-li-i\acute{s}^a$ $\bar{h}ar-na-a-\acute{u}-\acute{i}^b$
	32.	$[(a)]n-d\acute{a}$ $\bar{p}\acute{i}-e-\bar{h}u-te-iz-zi^c$, ^d
Hb		$na-a\acute{s}$ UŠ-KE-EN $\bar{h}ar-na-a-\acute{u}-i-y[a-(a\acute{s}\text{-}\acute{s}a-an)]^e$
	34.	QA-TAM $da-a-i$ [()]
		$\overbrace{ma-a-na-a\acute{s} \text{ } te-e\acute{s}-\bar{h}a-az^f}^{\uparrow} \text{ } \bar{U}-UL \text{ } \bar{p}\acute{a}r-ku-i\acute{s} \text{ } n[(a-a\acute{s} \text{ } PA-N)]I^1 \text{ } K\acute{A} \text{ } \acute{E}.Š\acute{A}$
	36.	UŠ-KE-EN $nam-ma-a\acute{s}\text{-}\acute{s}a-an$ $a-ra-\{a\bar{h}-za\}^h$
Hd		$\bar{h}ar-na-a-\acute{u}-i^1$ QA-TAM $\bar{p}a-ra-a^1$ [($da-a-i$)]
	38.	$ma-a\bar{h}-\bar{h}a-an-ma^k$ $ne-ku-uz$ MUL $wa-}at-ku-zi^1$
		$na-a\acute{s}-i\acute{q}$ ŠAL $\bar{h}ar-na-a-\acute{u}-i$ $an-d[a \text{ } \bar{p}\acute{i}-\bar{e}-\bar{h}u-te-iz-zi$
	40.	$na-a\acute{s}$ $\bar{h}ar-na-a-\acute{u}-i$ UŠ-KE-EN Q[A-TAM-y] $a-a\acute{s}\text{-}\acute{s}a-an$
		$\bar{p}a-ra-a \text{ } da-a-i$ $na-a\acute{s}-k\acute{a}n$ $\bar{p}a-ra-q \text{ } \acute{u}-iz-zi$
	42.	$[nu]$ ^{LÚ} $pa-ti-li-i\acute{s}$ $\acute{E}.Š\acute{A}$ [$\bar{p}\acute{i}-ra-an$ $\acute{s}i-ya-i$]z-z <i>i</i>
		$[nu \text{ } MU\acute{S}]EN$ ^{LÚ} $pa-ti-li-i\acute{s}$ [$\bar{p}a-ra-}a \text{ } da-a-i$
	44.	[] KASKAL- $\acute{s}i$ $\bar{h}a-at-ri-[\acute{e}\acute{s}\text{-}\acute{s}a^2-n]a^2-a\acute{s}$
		[] $LA^2 \times NI^2 \times [\text{ } -z]i$
	46.	[] $\acute{E}.Š\acute{A}$
		[U]Š-KE-EN
Ha		
IV	[	] -zi
2.	[	-z] ⁱ²
	[	^{LÚ} $pa-ti-li-i\acute{s}$
4.	[	] $m\acute{a}-a-an$
	[	$\bar{h}ar-n}a-a-\acute{u}-i$

a. Hb III 6' omits

b. Hb III 6': $\bar{h}ar-na-u-[i]$ c. Hb III 7': $\bar{p}\acute{i}-\bar{h}u-te-iz-zi$

d. paragraph stroke omitted in Hb

e. Hb III 8': $\bar{h}ar-na-\acute{u}-i-ma-a\acute{s}\text{-}\acute{s}a-an$

f. over erasure

g. Hb III 9': $te-e\acute{s}-\bar{h}a-az-ma$; Hd 4': [$te-e\acute{s}-\bar{h}a-a$]z-mah. Hb III 11': $a-ra-a\bar{h}-z\acute{e}-ni-ya-a\acute{s}\text{-}\acute{s}a-an$; Hd 5': $a-ra-a\bar{h}-z\acute{e}-na-ya-a\acute{s}\text{-}\acute{s}a-an$ i. Hb III 11': $\bar{h}ar-na-\acute{u}-[i]$

j. Hb III 12' omits

k. Hd 6': GIM-an-ma

l. the texts diverge at this point—see commentary

then the *patili*-priest takes her in

32. to the birth-stool.

§ 28' And she bows down, and on the birth-stool

34. places (her) hand.

§ 29' But if she is (shown) by a dream (to be) impure, then she before the door
of the inner chamber

36. bows down. Further, out[side]

she puts (her) hand forth toward the birth-stool.

38. But when at night a star [tw]inkles,

then he (the *patili*-priest) takes the woman in to the birth-stool.

40. And she bows down to the birth-stool, [and (her)] h[and]

she places forth (on it). And she goes forth.

42. [And] the *patili*-priest [before] the inner chamber makes a [seal]ing.

§ 30' [And a bi]rd the *patili*-priest takes [for]th.

44. [...] on the road, at the cro[ss]ing

[...] ... he [...]

46. [...] inner chamber

[...] he [b]ows down.

IV (traces)

Commentary

This text, which forms a group with the “Ritual of Papanikri”²¹⁷ and Text J,²¹⁸ deals with purificatory ceremonies performed on behalf of a woman. In the preserved lines, only the presence of the *ḫarnau-*, “birth-stool,” indicates that a birth is involved. It is likely that these ceremonies were to be carried out soon before this apparatus was employed in the actual birth, although it must be noted that no mention of entering into labor is preserved. It is unfortunate that both the initial lines and the colophons of all of the exemplars have been lost, for it is there that we might find an explicit statement of purpose for this ritual. It is certain only that the ritual is concerned with the mother in the (immediate²¹⁹) pre-parturition period, and that it centers about her purification and ritual introduction to the birth-stool. Presumably evils or impurities which might otherwise threaten the lives of mother and child during birth are removed here. Possibly the lost col. IV dealt with the birth of the child and his or her purification.²¹⁹

The Hurro-Luwian background of this text, as evidenced most conclusively by the foreign vocabulary of § 15', shows that it cannot have been composed before the Middle Hittite period, when Hittite culture was first subjected to strong influence from the Hurrian and Luwian south.

Ha and Hb reveal no late sign forms and appear to be fourteenth-century tablets. Since Hc replaces the phonetic spelling *wa-al-ab-zi* of Ha II 41 with the logographic writing GUL-*a[b-zi]* (15'),²²⁰ it was probably inscribed later than Ha and Hb. In addition, the sign E (e.g., 6', 7', 8') is drawn here with the large initial vertical characteristic of the later script.

As for the smaller fragments, Hd and Hf are of thirteenth-century date, as indicated by the writing GIM-*an* (Hd 6', Hf 7') and the later form of LI (Hd 7', Hf 5'). The use of -*ŠÚ* to represent the enclitic possessive pronoun in He (KA×U-*ŠÚ*, 4') reveals a late thirteenth-century date for that piece.²²¹ In summary we may state that Text H was probably composed early in the Empire period and was recopied several times during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries.

217 See Sommer/Ehelolf, Pap 79.

218 Text Ja (= Bo 4951) is included by Laroche under the same Catalogue number (477.4) as Text H (477.1–3).

219 Perhaps the material in the lost col. IV of Text H was similar to that preserved in Text J.

220 For the tendency of later scribes to substitute logograms for phonetic spellings, see Houwink ten Cate, Records 49.

221 See Neu, StBoT 18, 51.

Hc 5'. For *ḫarnai-*, see below, pp. 102–04.

Hc 8'. ^{GIS}*paini* = Hurrian *paini* = Akkadian *bīnu* = Sumerian ^{GIS}*ŠINIG* is conventionally translated “tamarisk” on the basis of an Aramaic gloss to the Akkadian word,²²² but it may in actuality designate the juniper.²²³ For the use of ^{GIS}*paini*- in other Hittite ritual contexts, see Hoffner, *AlHeth* 119.

Hc 10'. A reading ^{DUG}ḪAB.ḪAB^{UB} is also possible, but my interpretation avoids an unnecessary combination of Sumerian and Akkadian elements in a single logogram.²²⁴ In any case ^{DUG}KUKUBU is synonymous with ^{DUG}ḪAB.ḪAB.²²⁵

Hc 10'–12'. Since 12'b–16' of Hc duplicate Ha II 4–8, we must assume that Hc 10'–12' run parallel to Ha II 1–3, although very little is preserved of these lines, and the texts of Hc and Ha in this section cannot be reconciled totally. In particular, Ha II 2 shows *]-te-eš*, presumably a *ppl.nom.pl.c.*, while the three woods which must be the subject of the sentence here are grammatically *n.pl.*–cf. Ha II 22–23. I have conjecturally restored a grammatically correct participial form in the break in Hc 11'.

Ha II 4ff. In these lines the pegs are pounded into the outer wall of the room, on either side of the door. The objects hung on these pegs in this and the following paragraph are then either magically associated with the events taking place within the chamber, or else serve as apotropaic devices warding off evil before it enters the room.

The officiating person here, as throughout this ritual, is the *patili*-priest²²⁶—note the relationship of this paragraph to § 19', where the ^{LU}*patili*- is mentioned expressly.

Ha II 7. I have restored *wa-al-aḫ-zi* here, instead of *GUL-aḫ-zi* as in Hc 15', in agreement with Ha II 41.

222 See CAD B 242.

223 See Güterbock, *MDOG* 101, 1969, 24. If ^{GIS}*paini*- were mentioned only in ritual texts, it could be argued that both the usage and the word itself were imported from the south, but the Hittite *šar tamḫari* text (KBo XXII 6) tells of a ^{GIS}*paini*-growing in the Anatolian city of *Purušḫanda* (= *Acemhöyük?*) (IV 14–15). For the archaeologically attested presence of the tamarisk in Anatolia, see Willcox, *AnSt* 24, 1974, 126–27.

224 Perhaps the occurrence of ^{DUG}ḪAB.ḪAB^{UB} in VII 20 I 9 listed by Friedrich, *HW*¹, 2. *Erg.* 30, is also to be interpreted as ^{DUG}KU¹-KU¹-UB.

225 See *HW*¹ 309.

226 See below, pp. 235–38.

Ha II 8. Hb II 5 (and II 16) shows the phonetic spelling for “cedar,” ^{GI8}*i-ri-ip-pí-da*, rather than the Sumerogram ^{GI8}ERIN. The ending *-da* here, like the word itself, may be a borrowing from Hurrian—see Brosman, JAOS 88, 1968, 526–28.

Ha II 9. [4 *mu-ri-ya*]-*li-uš* is restored on the basis of Hb II 6': 4 *mu-ri-ya-li-iš*. Whether the first sign is to be read as NINDA or as the numeral 4 is uncertain, but it does not show the indented middle vertical often characteristic of NINDA.²²⁷ In any case, Otten and Souček, StBoT 8, 99, have shown that *muriyala-*, with or without the NINDA determinative, must be understood as “Trauben-Brot.”²²⁸

The traces of the verb in Hb II 6' could just as well represent the finite form *ga-an-k[i]*, but the restoration of the participial *ga-a[(n-k)án-te-eš]* better fits the space in Ha II 10. This understanding of the text necessitates an emendation to [(*mu-ri-ya-*)]*li-iš*ⁱ (nom.pl.c.) in Ha II 9, which is supported by Hb II 6'.

Ha II 10. For ^{SI6}*šurita-*, “ball of yarn?,” see Sommer/Ehelolf, Pap 71. To the passages quoted there, add now only Text U: 6', which is a mere fragment, and 91/d I 8'–9':

] -zi SÍG *mi-ti-eš-kán-zi*
^{SI6}*šur*ⁱ-ú-ri-ta-aš ^dLAMÁ-aš *me-mi-eš-ki-iz-z[i]*

It is interesting that this passage, if correctly restored, shows *šurita-* in the immediate context of SÍG *mitēškanzi*, “one attaches²²⁹ the wool,” which would accord well with the interpretation of *šurita-* as a conglomeration of wool. In form, *šurita-* is perhaps another Hurrian plural in *-da*.²³⁰

Ha II 12. [(*ša-as-d*)]*u'-uš*, acc.pl.c., is restored on the basis of *ša-aš-ta-an*, acc.sg.c., as found in Hb II 8'.²³¹ For the treatment of the possessions as well as the person of a ritual subject, cf. KUB XXX 42 I 8–14, a colophon preserved in a catalogue text:

8. [DU]B.1.KAM ŠA Ì.DÙG.GA ŠA ¹A-az-za-ri ^{SAL}A.ZU *hur-la-aš*
9. *ma-a-an an-tu-wa-aḫ-ḫa-aš ku-wa-pí tu-uz-zi-uš*
10. *la-aḫ-ḫi A-NA URU* ^{LÚ}KÚR *pí-e-ḫu-te-iz-zi*
11. *nu EN.KARAŠ ku-iš PA-NI KARAŠ ḫu-ya-an-za*

227 See Otten apud Hoffner, AlHeth 151, n. 6.

228 See also Hoffner, AlHeth 173, 207.

229 For *mitai-*, “attach, fasten,” see Goetze, Madd 84, n. 17.

230 For this gender and number, cf. V 10 I 10: ^{SI6}*šu-ri-ta-wa ú-e-iz-za-pa-an-ta*.

231 See below, pp. 171 f., for the use of both sg. and pl. with a noun indicating a piece of furniture.

12. *nu* Ì.DÙG.GA GIM-an *bu-uk-zi nam-ma* EN.KARÁŠ
 13. *iš-ki-iz-zi* ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MEŠ}.ŠU-ya QA-DU^{GIŠ}GIGIR-ŠU
 14. Ú-NU-UT MĒ-ya *bu-ma-an-ta-an iš-ki-iz-zi* QA-TI

First tablet of the fine oil, of Azzari, the female Hurrian physician. Whenever a man leads forth troops on a campaign against an enemy city, then whoever is the general, (that is,) whoever goes before the army—when one consecrates the fine oil, (then) further she anoints the general. And his chariot, together with his team and all of his weapons of war she anoints. Finished.²³²

Ha II 14. MUŠEN [(HUR-RI)]—For this bird, see Landsberger, WO 3, 1964/66, 262–64. Literally “bird of the cave,” the MUŠEN HURRI is probably the *Tadorna casarca*, a member of the duck family known in English as the “sheldrake.” Along with such proverbially salacious animals as the stag, the MUŠEN HURRI plays a significant role in Mesopotamian potency incantations,²³³ but in Hittite texts it is employed in a wide variety of ritual contexts. The Hittite designation for this bird is as yet unknown, for although XLI 11 rev. 4 mentions 1 MUŠEN *hur-ri-li-in*, “one Hurrian bird,” the isolation of this writing and the fact that there is no Mesopotamian evidence linking this bird with the Hurrian people show that it merely reflects an incorrect interpretation on the part of a single scribe.

Ha II 15. [(zu)]-úr-ki-ya—For this Hurrian offering term, see Otten, StBoT 15, 12–13, and Haas/Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 64–65. According to the latter authors, *zurgi* belongs to the group of “Unreinheits- und Sündenbegriffen,” i.e., it indicates the pollution which is to be removed by means of the offering. In this instance, the word appears to be a Hittite dat./loc., but Haas and Wilhelm have shown that the -ya often found in these offering terms is probably an Old Hurrian case ending, related to the Essiv²³⁴ of the Mitanni letter.²³⁵

Ha II 16. Here the woman washes her hands after the expiatory offering in order to purify herself prior to being brought before the birth-stool. The cleansing of hands—either one’s own or those of another—is a frequently attested purificatory act in Hittite ritual.²³⁶ No standard formula was developed to indicate this action, various verbs being employed. Beside *arra-*, as in this

232 Compare also the treatment carried out for the aphasia of Muršili II—see Goetze/Pedersen, MS.

233 See Biggs, ŠA.ZI.GA, index, 81.

234 Their term, otherwise called “stative.”

235 Note *ke-el-di-ya* in a text from Alalakh level VII (AT 126: 37). See AOATS 3, 130ff.

236 Compare also Deut. 21: 1–9.

text, are found *šap-*, “scrape off”²³⁷ (e.g., XXV 36 I 13’²³⁸), *šuppiyahb-*, “purify” (e.g., KBo X 20 III 32), and *anš-*, “wipe off” (e.g., KBo XII 96 I 35²³⁹).

Ha II 17. The form and function of the *ḥarnau-*,²⁴⁰ “birth-stool,” are discussed by Sommer and Ehelolf, Pap 3–4. The *ḥarnau-* seems to have consisted of a bowl (^{DUG}LIŠ.GAL) upon which the mother sat, two pegs (^{GIŠ}KAK^{HI.A}) which the woman grasped during delivery, and possibly several boards (^{GIŠ}DUB^{HI.A}) placed under the bowl. In the “Ritual of Papanikri” I 8 we read of utensils (*UNŪTĒ*^{MEŠ}—presumably materials used by midwife and priest) being carried within the *ḥarnau-*, possibly in the bowl.²⁴¹

Outside of the texts edited in this work (see GLOSSARY, s.v.), the stem *ḥarnau-/ḥarnu-*²⁴² occurs only in the vow Bo 7953 (III 11’: *ḥar-na-a-u-wa-aš-ma me-mi-an*, 16’: INIM *ḥar-na-a-u-wa-aš*), in the professional name “woman of the birth-stool”²⁴³ (i.e., gen.sg.—XXI 27 II 16: *ḥar-na-a-u-wa-aš* SAL; XXI 27 II 17: *ḥar-na-a-wa-aš* SAL; and XXVI 66 III 11: SAL *ḥar-na-wa-aš*), and in the “Ritual of Papanikri.”²⁴⁴ The occurrences in that text are:

nom.sg.c.	
<i>ḥar-na-a-uš</i>	I 44
nom./acc.sg.n.	
<i>ḥar-na-a-ú</i>	I 7, 12, 31, 39
<i>ḥar-na-a-ú-{i}</i>	I 25
gen.sg.	
<i>ḥar-na-a-u-wa-aš</i>	I 3
<i>ḥar-na-a-ú-wa-aš</i>	I 20, IV 38
dat./loc.sg.	
<i>ḥar-na-a-ú-i</i>	I 2, 23, 24, 26, ²⁴⁵ IV 37

237 See Friedrich, JAOS 88, 1968, 38. 238 See Haas, KN 200.

239 See Rosenkranz, Or ns 33, 1964, 240.

240 Although likely, this reading is not entirely certain because all attestations of *ḥarnau-*, as well as of *ḥarnai-*, involve the multivalent sign HAR/HUR/MUR.

241 Cf. the brick constructions employed in parturition by the Babylonians (see Atrahasis myth I 255–305 as reconstructed by Lambert and Millard, Atrahasis 60–65), the Egyptians (see I. Menscha, Archiv für Gynäkologie, 131, 1928, 448–50), and the Hebrews (see Ex. 1: 16).

242 This form of the stem is found only in Text K—see below, p. 151.

243 See below, pp. 233f.

244 Add also possibly the fragmentary dream text KBo VIII 63 IV 3’: ×(-) *ḥar-na-a-u-wa-aš* ŪT^{UM}.

245 Emendation *ḥar-na-a-ú-{i}* with Eichner, H&I 45, n. 9., and Neu, “Lokativ” 48, n. 113.

We see from the assembled material that this word is found in both the neuter and the common gender and is thus far attested only in the singular.²⁴⁶

In addition to the *-au*-stem, HW¹ 58 lists without references an *-ai*-stem *ḫarnai*-. However, Otten has pointed out the existence of a separate word *ḫarnai*-,²⁴⁷ to which, in fact, almost all occurrences of the stem *ḫarnai*- must be assigned.

Note KBo XVII 93 obv. 6:

pár-ku-i wa-a-tar ḫar-na-in-na da-[an-zi²]

Pure water and *ḫarnai* they² ta[ke.]

KUB XII 49 I 17:

wa-a-tar ḫar-na-in-na pa-ap-pár-ši-iš-kán-z[i]

Water and *ḫarnai* they sprinkle.

and KUB XLII 98 I 23:

^{GIŠ}*ú-ra-ad-da-az-za* ^{GIŠ}*ba-a-i-ni-ya-az-za ḫar-na-a-in-na da-[an-zi²]*

They² ta[ke] the *ḫarnai* from the *u*.-wood and from the tamarisk².

In none of these passages would a piece of furniture be appropriate. Rather, they must be taken, like all occurrences of this word in Text H except that in Ha II 20 = Hb II 15, where the birth apparatus is certainly meant, as indicating some substance employed in purificatory rites. The section of XLII 98 quoted above suggests a substance produced by aromatic woods, perhaps a sap. The other available attestations of *ḫarnai*-.²⁴⁸—KUB XV 1 I 26ff., XVIII 58 III 36', XXXI 111: 2', KBo XVII 73 II 8', and VBoT 133 rev. 2', add nothing to the discussion due to their fragmentary contexts.

The weight of the evidence indicates that the *-au*-stem *ḫarnau*- alone correctly serves to indicate "birth-stool," while the *-ai*-stem *ḫarnai*- designates a substance. However, the Hittite scribes themselves seem to have had trouble on occasion keeping *ḫarnau*- and *ḫarnai*- apart—see below, p. 110, for an instance where *ḫarnau*- has been substituted for *ḫarnai*-. On the other hand, *ḫarnain* in Ha II 20 = Hb II 15 is more satisfactorily explained as a simple

246 Goetze, Madd 98, suggested that *ḫar-nu-ú-i-iz-zi* (XVII 24 II 4) is a denominative from *ḫarnau*-, but the context in which the word is found—É^{TEM}, "house," appears to be the object of this verb—makes this highly unlikely.

247 WO 2, 1959, 479, n. 1, where he suggests that *ḫarnai*- might be the Hittite word for "milk." He retracts this view, however, apud HW¹, 3. Erg. 14.

248 See now also StBoT 25, 73, n. 272.

confusion of the *-ai-*stem word for the *-au-*stem, than as evidence for the equivalence of the two terms.

It seems likely that *ḥarnai-* plays such an important role among the substances in this ritual precisely because of its approximate homophony with the necessary apparatus, the *ḥarnau-*.

Ha II 18ff. For MUŠEN.GAL = *iššuru rabû* as “duck,” see AHw 390.

For *ḥari* = KASKAL, “path,” see Haas/Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 117–18. This word refers to magic trails, similar to those often found in the evocation rituals, e.g., CTH 484.

ḥabi is possibly another cultic site,²⁴⁹ while *itkalziya* and *kulamuši* are listed by Haas and Wilhelm among the “Heilsbegriffe,” i.e., those desirable states which are to be reached through performance of the ritual.²⁵⁰ The former word may mean “purity” or the like, and the second, rather rare, word is attested in the birth rituals with the variant spellings *ku-la-mu-ši-ya* (*Ha II 19*) and *ku-la-mur-ši-[ya]* (*Hb II 14'*). Perhaps the spelling without *r* is to be explained by HE I² § 30b, but since we are dealing with a foreign word, this is uncertain.²⁵¹

Ha II 24. *i-pu-ul-li-ya-aš:* Alp, *Belleten* 12, 1948, 322, n. 7 a, analyses *ipulli-* as a derivative in *-ulli-* from *ep-*, “grasp,” and defines it as “handle” or “hilt.” Alp’s etymology, however, has been called into doubt by van Brock, who points out that an *i*-vowel never appears in a verbal form of *ep-*.²⁵²

Alp’s translation is also unlikely. Certainly it fits well enough the passage which he quotes, XVI 83 obv. 51:

ŠA G18 TUKUL GUŠKIN-ya-wa-kán *i-pu-ul-li IŠ-TU* N[^{A4}ZA.GÌN²⁵³] *ar-ḥa pí-
ip-pa-[an]*

“And of the golden weapon the *ipulli* with [lapis lazuli] (is) knock[ed] awry.”

249 See Haas/Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 77.

250 See Haas/Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 83–84, 88.

251 A spelling with *r*, *ku-la-mur-ši-ya-(aš)*, is found in KBo XIV 142 (I 43, 46; II 12, 16), at KBo XXI 62 IV 13', and elsewhere, and thus seems to be normative. XX 97 IV 6 and KBo X 20 III 13 and 33 offer yet another variant, *ku-lu-mur-ši-ya*, with *u* in the second syllable. Cf. finally KBo XXIII 27 IV 11': *ku-la-mu-ur-ni-el-la*. See also Laroche, GLH 151f., and now Wegner, AOAT 36, 141, where the fragment 103/r is adduced as an additional context for *kula/umu(r)ši-*.

252 RHA 71, 1962, 114.

253 This restoration, which goes back to von Brandenstein, *Bildbeschr* 65, is uncertain, but the sign at the beginning of the break is clearly NA₄, and therefore some (semi-)precious stone is indicated.

but KBo X 24 II 3–6, with the presence of the determinative SÍG, presents difficulties for Alp's interpretation:

3. ^{LÚ}AL[AM.]Z[Ú]
4. A-NA ^{LÚ}SANGA ^dU GÙ[B-]la-[za]
5. *i-ya-at-ta*
6. *na-an* ^{SÍG}*i-pu-ul-li-í[t ħar-zi?]*

The “jester?” goes on the lef[t] of the priest of the Storm-god, and him by the *ipulli* [he holds?].

The verb in line 6 here has been restored through comparison with Bo 2923 IV⁷ 1'–2' (StBoT 25, 88):²⁵⁴

^d*Ĥal-ma-šu-it-ta-aš* ^{LÚ}SANGA-aš
i-pu-ul-li-še-it ħar-zi

Of the priest of Ĥalmašuit he holds his *ipulli*.

It seems likely that the *ipulli*- constituted some part of the priestly apparel in these instances. Compare now KUB IX 28 I 15'–19', in which an image (*ešri*-, I 11') is dressed as the goddess IŠTAR:

- 15'. TÚG-an *ú-e-eš-ta iš-pa-a-ta* KÙ.BABBAR TUR¹⁷ *iš-pár-ra-an ħar-zi*
- 16'. SÍG ZA.GIN *iš-ĥu-uz-zi-ya-an-za* SÍG SA₅
- 17'. *i-pu-ul-li-še-it I-NA* ^{UZU}GAB-ŠU SÍG SA₅ *ki-it-ta*
- 18'. I-NA GÚ-ŠU ^{NA⁴}*ku-un-na-aš ku-ut-ta-na-al-li*
- 19'. *ne-e-ya*²⁵⁵-an *na-aš* ^dIŠTAR-*iš i-ya-an-za*

She wears a garment (and) she holds outstretched a small⁷ silver spear. Blue wool is bound on as a belt. Red wool (is) her *ipulli*—on her breast the red wool is placed. Around her neck is suspended a necklace of beads. And it is (thus) made to be IŠTAR.

If SÍG SA₅ in lines 16' and 17' refers to the same piece of material, then the *ipulli*- could be worn on (= across?) the chest. This suggests that the article in question was a type of cord or strap of wool, perhaps worn as a symbol of authority by the priests in two of the passages quoted. The *ipulli*- in XVI 83, which is part of a weapon of a deity, could have been a strap (although natu-

254 In support of the assumption of a similarity in content between this passage and KBo X 24 II 3–6, note that in KBo X 23 IV, which runs parallel to the latter, we find *i-pu-ul-li-še-it* in line y+2.

255 Text: *ne-e-la-e-an*, on which see Goetze, JCS 1, 1947, 309, n. 17. For the emendation, see Eichner, Sprache 21, 1975, 160f.

rally not of wool) decorated with precious stones.²⁵⁶ *ipulliyas*²⁵⁷ in Text H adds nothing to the discussion—perhaps the preparation of this object, or at least its donning by the woman, was mentioned in the lost col. I.

Ha II 25f. The anointing of the head of the woman here may be seen as a rite marking her entrance into a special state of purity, conducive to successful delivery. Note that in the Ancient Near East the anointing of a woman's head was an important element in the betrothal ceremony.²⁵⁸ Among the Hittites there is evidence for this practice in the marriage correspondence between Ḫattušili III/Puduḫepa and Ramses II.²⁵⁹ Note especially III 24 + 59 obv. 5:

i-na UD-mi ḪSAG DÜG.GA a-na SAG.DU DUMU.SAL it-[bu-ku]

On the day that one po[ured] fine oil on the head of the daughter.

Betrothal, as well as childbirth, marked the transition from one important state in the life of a woman to another. This significance of anointing as indicative of entrance into a new or special social status is visible also in the ceremonies of consecration of the Hittite monarch²⁶⁰ and in the ritual preparation of a general before a campaign.²⁶¹

Ha II 28f. For the differing functions of *IŠTU* in these lines, contrary to correct Akkadian usage, see HE I² § 356.

Ha II 30. For the purification of the mouth, see above, pp. 51f.

Ha II 31. Asyndesis of ^{DUG}L¹Š.GAL *ḫar-na-in* here suggests a close relationship between the two—probably the (remaining?) *ḫarnai-* had been returned to its container after the purification.

Ha II 36. ^{SAL}*katra/i-*²⁶² is defined generally in HW¹ 106 as “eine Tempelfunktionärin.” The role played by the *katra*-women in the preserved portion of this ritual—they depart in *Ha II 35ff.*, and in *II 44f.* they are fed—provides little toward a more precise definition of their status and responsibilities in the cult.

256 A final attestation of *ipulli-* is from the inventory XLII 11 I 5': N₁A₄ GUŠKIN *i-pu-ul-li-ya-aš*, and probably indicates an object similar to that in XVI 83.

257 Dat./loc.pl., and not gen., as stated by Alp, loc. cit.

258 See Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien I* (Heidelberg, 1920), p. 401, de Vaux, *Ancient Israel I* (New York, 1965), pp. 103–04, and Goetze, JCS 1, 1947, 315. On the development of the practice of anointment, see van Dijk, *Or ns* 44, 1975, 79, who speculates that the original locus of this rite was child-birth.

259 See Edel, JKF 2, 1953, 268–69.

260 See Kümmel, *StBoT* 3, 43–45.

261 See the colophon quoted above, pp. 100f.

262 The *i*-stem is attested at XXXII 133: 18: ^{SAL}*kat-ri-iš*.

Jakob-Rost suggests that the *katra*-women were musicians,²⁶³ and this is supported by the “Ritual of Papanikri” (KBo V 1) III 48–49:

nu-za ^{SAL}*ka-at-ra-aš* ^{GIŠ}BALAG *da-a-i na-aš-ta* DINGIR^{MEŠ}
an-da ḫal-za-a-i

The *katra*-woman takes up the drum?²⁶⁴ and calls in the gods.

KBo XXI 34 II 26–27:

na-aš-ta A-NA ⁴*Ḫé-bat* ^{GAD}*a-la-a-lu ar-ḫa da-an-zi* ^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR ^{LÚ.MEŠ}BALAG-
 DI.[GAL?]
^{SAL.MEŠ}*kat-ri-i-e-eš iš-ḫa-mi-iš-kán-zi*

And they take away the *alalu*-garment from *Ḫebat*, (and) the musicians, the drum?-players (and) the *katra*-women sing.

and KUB XLVII 65 II 13–15:

[ŠÌR ŠA *zi-i*] *n-za-pu-uš-ši-ya-ma* ^{SAL.MEŠ}*ka-at-ri-eš*
 -a] *n-zi nu tar-ku-wa-an-zi* ^{LÚ}NAR-*ma*
 ŠÌR^{RU}

The [Song of] z.²⁶⁵ the *katra*-women [...], and they dance. But the musician plays.

KUB XXXIX 69 may also be adduced here—^{SAL.MEŠ}*kat-ri-eš-ma* in obv.⁷ 3' is followed by ^{LÚ}NAR in 4'.

That various functions were performed by the *katra*-women, however, is evident from other passages in the “Ritual of Papanikri”—in III 52f. *katra*-women unravel⁷ a garment, and in IV 11 a single *katra*-woman symbolically gives birth to a lamb.²⁶⁶

The only *katra*-woman known by name, Arš/zakiti, is an author of the purificatory ritual KBo XII 116.²⁶⁷ KUB XXXII 133 I 18ff. finds a lone *katra*-woman taking up a pure, silver, water jug, after which there follows a ceremony involving colored wool. XXXIX 71 I 22ff. shows a *katra*-woman drawing pure water (*šebḫelliyaš watar*) and making offerings at a sacred well. In KBo XXIII 1 III 25ff. pure (*šu-up-pa-e-eš*) *katra*-women in the company of a seer

263 Translation without comment, MIO 1, 1953, 367–68. Otten, ZA 53, 1959, 181, translates ^{SAL.MEŠ}*katruš* as “Sängerinnen.” See now also Wegner, AOAT 36, 151–53.

264 See Gurney, Aspects 35, with n. 3.

265 See Salvini, Introduction to KUB XLV, sub no. 40.

266 See below, p. 123.

267 This text is listed in the catalogue text VIII 71 obv. 11.

(^{LÚ}AZU) cleanse rhytons with soda (*nitrī*). These last passages suggest that ritual purification was as important a function of the *katra*-women as the providing of music.

KUB XXIX 4 I 50 ff. and III 9 f. tell us only that *katra*-women participated in the ceremonies for the resettlement of DINGIR.GI₆, without delineating any specific duties. In a fragmentary cultic context, X 91 II 7 ff., *katra*-women appear together with ^{SAL.MEŠ}BURRŪTIM,²⁶⁸ dancers, and prostitutes.²⁶⁹ KUB X 63 VI 3, KBo XIII 43 I 3', and KBo XIX 142 II 8 feature *katra*-women performing miscellaneous offerings, while V 10 + obv. 38 ff. and KBo XXIII 111 rev.⁷ are oracle inquiries involving this functionary. Finally, ^{SAL}kat-ra-a-aš in the catalogue text XXX 60 obv. left col. 6, and ^{SAL.MEŠ}kat-ri-eš- in the ritual KBo XVII 70 rev. 4' provide contexts too broken to be of any use.²⁷⁰

In summary, it may be stated that the *katra*-woman appears, alone or with colleagues, performing diverse tasks in Hittite ritual. The designations "singer" and "musician" cover only a part of her duties. That she was a member of a recognized profession is evidenced by her inclusion among the personnel of the "House of Crafts" (É.GIŠ.KIN.TI = BÎT KIŠKATTÎ²⁷¹). Also, it is possibly she who is referred to under the logogram SAL DINGIR^{LIM},²⁷² a designation which would shed no new light on her functions, since it is obvious from other evidence that the cult is her area of concern.²⁷³ A particular involvement with birth is not indicated.

Ha II 37. Since the doing of obeissance (*UŠKÊN*) is an honor usually reserved in Hittite ritual for deities and royalty, its attestation here in connection with a

268 HW¹, 2. Erg. 33, compares Akkadian *burru*, "Tempeldiener," which is attested only in lexical texts—see CAD B 330.

269 Perhaps KBo XXII 49 III 9', in which a *katra*-woman appears with a ^{LÚ}SÚ-SÀ-PI-NU, "bridal attendant; pander⁷," belongs here. For the Akkadian term, see Lambert, BWL 339–40.

270 ^{SAL.MEŠ}kattaraš in XVI 34 I 20, tentatively listed in HW¹ 106, is immediately suspect due to the writing with double *t*. Since the interpretation of this word as belonging to ^{SAL}katra- also involves the emendation of what is clearly a TAB-sign to KAT, it has been disregarded here. Note that ^{SAL}taptara- is attested elsewhere as a professional designation—see Otten, HTR 129.

271 KBo XIX 28 is a list originally containing some 205 members of this house—in the seven preserved lines of the obverse we find, beside 29 *katra*-women, priests, scribes, wood-scribes, seers (^{LÚ.MEŠ}HAL), and Hurrian singers. See Güterbock, XX^e RAI 132.

272 See Carruba, StBoT 2, 11, n. 5.

273 A connection with Ugaritic *ktrt*, deities or practitioners associated with birth—see Gordon, UgTb 424–25—is unlikely since Ugaritic *t* usually corresponds to Hittite š.

private person must be attributed to a special ritual status of the mother-to-be by which she is set apart from the rest of society.

Ha II 38f. *ḥar-na-ú-i pí-ra-an ši-ya-[iz-z]i*: Goetze, NBr 79, expressed the opinion that a compound verbal form *šīyan ḥarzi* stood both here and in the similar III 5. In this line, space appears insufficient to allow a restoration *ši-ya-[an ḥar-z]i*, while in III 5, either my restoration *ši-ya-i[z-]zi*²⁷⁴ or Goetze's implied *ši-ya-a[n²⁷⁵ ḥar-]zi* would fit well. The verbal form was probably the same in both lines.

The meaning of these two lines (and probably also of the restored III 42) presents a problem in its own right. *šīya-* is a transitive verb, but no object is expressed in either case. Goetze²⁷⁶ correctly pointed out the relationship of the action in II 39 to *ḥarnauī piran ki-nu-uz-zi*²⁷⁷ in II 49—what is done in the first instance is clearly undone in the second.²⁷⁸ He also suggested that the understood object here is the ^{DUG}*kappi-* of II 39 and 42. That this vessel was involved, however, is unlikely—it is preferable to take *šīya-/kinu-* in an “absolute” sense here as “seal”/“break (a sealing),”²⁷⁹ in reference to the door of the inner chamber. Note that no mention of the birth-stool is made between II 39 and II 49.

274 Cf. Text Ha III 28, where the last sign of the final word of a paragraph is also set off significantly to the right of the preceding sign.

275 The traces of the sign visible at the left edge of the break better suit IZ than AN.

276 Loc. cit.

277 Hoffner's suggestion (EHG I 53, n. 89; cf. also HW¹, 3.Erg. 19, and Riemschneider, FsOttén 278, with n. 28), that *kinu-* here may mean “kneel” must be rejected. Although the resemblance of the stem of this verb to the Hittite noun *ge/anu-*, “knee” (<PIE **genu*; cf. Neu, KZ 86, 1972, 288 ff.) certainly makes Hoffner's suggestion attractive, and the parallelism with the action expressed by the Akkadian *UŠKĒN*, “bows down,” also carried out before the birth-stool in II 33–34, III 2 and 40 adds support, the *šīya*-action is also performed “before the birth-stool” here. From a linguistic standpoint, it is unlikely that the same unaugmented stem should be both a noun and a verb. Indeed, Hittite possesses two other verbs definitely meaning “kneel,” both expanded forms of the stem *ganu-*—*kanuš-šariya-/ge/inuššariya-* and *kaneniya-*. See Neu, KZ 86, 1972, 291–92. Here, and in StBoT 5, 91, n. 1, he denies the existence of a verb *kinu-*, “kneel,” in the second-cited work assigning *kinuzzi* in the passage from Text H to *kinu-*, “break open.”

278 See Archi, UF 5, 1973, 14, where the filling of the pithoi in the autumn (^{DUG}*ḥarši šubḥa-*) is contrasted to their opening (*kinu-* or *ḥeš(š)-*) in the spring.

279 The pair *šai-/kinu-* in connection with a horn is found in KBo II 3 IV 7–9. Cf. Güterbock, FsKoschaker 28–29.

Ha II 39f. ^{DUG}*kap-pi-ma-aš-ša-an ku-iš ħar-na-a-ú-uš la-ḫu-an-zi* makes no sense as it stands—the verb has no object, and the use of *laḫuwai-*, “pour,” in connection with *ħarnau-* is puzzling. However, since *He 13'* shows here the participial form *la-ḫu-an-za*, it is clear that the scribe of *Ha* misunderstood his *Vorlage*. Presumably this earlier text showed *ħar-na-a-iš la-ḫu-an-za*, “the *ħarnai-* is poured out.” If the *IŠ*-sign in *ħarnaiš* in the older text was only slightly damaged, the scribe could easily have read it as *UŠ*, and, like the modern philologist,²⁸⁰ have become confused between *ħarnai-* and *ħarnau-*. Having opted in this instance for the latter, the scribe could have inserted a *Ú*-sign in his copy in order to avoid all future confusion. This would explain *ħar-na-a-ú-uš* here. Then, since this form may be interpreted as acc.pl.,²⁸¹ the scribe may have intentionally altered the correct *la-ḫu-an-za* to the transitive *la-ḫu-an-zi*.

HW¹ 98 defines ^{DUG}*kappi-* as “ein Hohlmaß,” but in addition to this text, KBo II 4 II 1 ff. also shows that the word occasionally indicates an actual vessel of this capacity. A comparison of II 39f. with II 28 and 31 suggests that *kappi-* might be one²⁸² Hittite phonetic reading of ^{DUG}LIŠ.GAL.

Ha II 44. For *A-NA LÚ.MEŠ pa-ti-li-e-eš*, see below, pp. 235 f.

Ha II 47. MUL *wa-at-ku-zi*: Haas, Or ns 40, 1971, 426, considers this stipulation to be a Mesopotamian element in this text. In fact, the phrase is probably a calque on Akkadian *kakkabu išḫit*, “a star shimmered,”²⁸³ and does not denote the sighting of a meteor, as claimed by Kronasser, SchwGoth 42, 48, 60. What is meant here is simply that night has fallen and it has become dark enough to view the stars. All of the ritual activities from this point in the text until III 29 thus take place at night.

Ha III 6. The traces following GIŠ here are very slight. *ḫ[ar-na-ú-]i* would fit the traces, but this would require more space than is available. Also, “birth-stool” is nowhere else written with a determinative. A seat suitable for a woman is obviously required here, but Š[Ú.A] and G[İR.GU]B are both excluded by the traces. GIŠN[Á^{U1.A}-a]š, however, fits all criteria. Cf. KBo XVI 59 rev. 7: GIŠNÁ-aš e-ša-at. For the plural number, cf. above, II 12 and see Güterbock, AfO 18, 1957/58, 79, n. 48.

280 See above, p. 103.

281 Note, however, that this would be the only attested occurrence of this word in the plural.

282 HW¹ 282 lists the phonetic complement *-ni* for ^{DUG}LIŠ.GAL.

283 Cf. YOS X 58 rev. 6, where oil *ki-ma ka-ka-bi-īm iš-bi-it*, and see CAD K 48–49.

Ha III 8ff. ^{NINDA}*naḥ(h)iti-* seems to belong to the Hurrian milieu—see Hoffner, *AlHeth* 173–74. The modeling in relief of heavenly bodies upon baked goods is also attested at KBo XIII 164 I 13 ff.²⁸⁴ and Bo 2071 rev. 16 f.:²⁸⁵

1 *ne-pi-iš* ZÍD.DA ŠA 1/2 UP-NI
nu-uš-ša-an an-da MUL^{U1A} i-ya-an

One heaven of one-half *upnu* of flour—
thereupon stars are modeled.

Unfortunately, only the preparation of these pastries, and not their ultimate ritual employment, is recoverable in these instances. Since in Text H the use of the *naḥiti*-loaf is rather sketchily described, and no further mention is made of the figures modeled upon it, it is not possible to decide if the celestial bodies are represented here chiefly as deities, or simply as natural phenomena.

In III 11 ff., the *patili*-priest removes from the woman the woods and wool which she has been wearing since the activities of § 16', and places them near the *naḥiti*-. Since the wool is certainly at this point held to be laden with various evils formerly adhering to the woman,²⁸⁶ its deposit by the pastry heaven perhaps indicates symbolically that the pollution is now far off in the sky, incapable of doing further harm to anyone.

In line 10, the reading *Û* for the first sign was already suggested by Sommer, *ZA* 46, 1940, 45.

Ha III 16ff. In this paragraph, the woman, who, due to her condition is unable to travel, symbolically carries out the sacrifice which the *patili*-priest actually performs later at the crossroads. Note that in II 15–16 the *zurgi*-offering, which is made conveniently in the *É.ŠA*, is performed by the woman herself.

IŠTU GEŠTIN šipant- cannot indicate a simple libation of wine here, since the verb is provided with an acc. object in the enclitic pronoun *-aš*, referring to the goats. Since the animals survive this action to be driven off in III 19, we must have here a simulation of the sacrifice of the goats, carried out by pouring over their heads wine representing their blood.²⁸⁷

284 See Hoffner, *AlHeth* 208.

285 See Sommer, *ZA* 46, 1940, 8, 46.

286 For the use of woolen strands, binding and releasing in Hittite ritual, see Szabó, *THeth* 1, 95 ff.

287 For wine representing blood in Hittite rites, see Oettinger, *StBoT* 22, 74–75.

Ha III 20. KASKAL-ša-aš *ḥa-at-ri-eš-na-aš*: “at the crossing²⁸⁸ of the road”; *ḥatrešnaš* is a dat./loc.pl.²⁸⁹ That KASKAL-šaš is probably gen.sg. is shown by III 44: KASKAL-ši *ḥatrešnaš*, “at the road (sg.!), at the crossing,” where the same idea as in III 20 is expressed by two coordinate dat./locs. That an emendation to KASKAL-aš is not called for here is shown by KASKAL-ši in Hd 7’.²⁹⁰

For an offering at a crossroads, cf. KUB XXIV 11 II 14’–17’.²⁹¹

14’. *nu* 1 NINDA.SIG A-NA ^dA-ri-ya *pār-ši-ya*

15’. [*n*]a-at-kán KASKAL-ši ZAG-az da-a-i *nu* KAŠ *ši-pa-an-ti nu te-iz-zi ...*

16’. ... 1 NINDA.SIG KASKAL-aš *ḥa-at-ta-ri-iš-na-aš*

17’. [(*pār-ši-ya* KASKAL)²⁹²]-ši GÜB-za da-a-i KAŠ *ši-ip-pa-an-ti nu te-iz-zi...*

He breaks one thin loaf for Ariya and places it at the right side of the road. Then he libates beer and says ... (Then) one thin loaf he breaks at the crossing of the road (and) places (it) at the left side of the road. He libates beer and says ...

Another passage which must be compared here is KUB VII 54 II 13–14:

na-at KASKAL-aš *ḥa-ad’-da-ri-eš-^(šar’)*²⁹³ *pa-ri-ya-an*
iš-ḥu-u-wa-an-zi

And they scatter them over the crossing of the road.

For “crossing,” Hb III 14’ shows the expected spelling *ḥa-at-ta-ri-eš-na-aš*. It is not possible to decide whether the scribe of Ha has merely committed an orthographic error, in both instances omitting a TA-sign, or whether the spelling *ḥa-at-ri-eš-na-aš* indicates syncopation in pronunciation.²⁹⁴ The beginning of the word has been lost in Hd 8’.

288 On this probable meaning of *ḥat(ta)reššar*, see Tischler, HEG 221, and cf. Haas, Or ns 45, 1976, 202 f., with n. 40.

289 See below, pp. 171 f., and note KASKAL-aš *ḥatarniyašḥaš*, XVII 12 II 9. Güterbock, Oriens 15, 1962, 349, interprets this as a dat./loc.pl., and tentatively translates it as “Weggabelung.”

290 See also Neu, “Lokativ” 44, n. 102.

291 See Jakob-Rost, THeth 2, 36–37.

292 Restoration from dupl. XXIV 9 II 37’.

293 I have been convinced by the morphological argument brought by Neu, “Lokativ” 41–45, and have given up my earlier interpretation of *ḥattareš* as an endless dat./loc.

294 A spelling with double *t* is expected, since it serves to distinguish *ḥattareššar*, “crossing,” from *ḥatreššar*, “message.” See Laroche, GsKretschmer II 3, n. 5.

Ha III 21f. The DINGIR.LÚ^{MEŠ}, “male deities,” who are not distinguished by name, and who here receive offerings at a crossroads in the dead of night, are presumably chthonic beings,²⁹⁵ perhaps representing the male aspect of fertility.

For ^É*šīnapši*-, a word of Hurrian provenience indicating a building or a part thereof, see Laroche, RA 54, 1960, 197–98, where it is suggested that it represents the portal of a holy precinct. This interpretation was questioned by Goetze,²⁹⁶ however, and Haas and Wilhelm²⁹⁷ put forth a translation “Entsühnungshaus.”

In Text K, a number of ritual activities carried out in the ^É*šīnapši*-(§§ 22–23) are followed by the remark that *na-aš-ta SAL-za I[Š-]TU É. DINGIR^{LIM} p[a-ra-a ú-i]z-zi* (Ka rev. 21), “Then the woman comes forth from the temple.” This strongly suggests that ^É*šīnapši*- and É.DINGIR^{LIM} are synonymous terms. Such an understanding would also allow us to interpret *ku-it ku-it ŠA É[šī-na-a]p-ši ut-tar* (Ka rev. 17–18), “whatever matter of the [*šīna*]pši-house,” as “whatever matter of the temple” = “whatever religious concern.”

In light of Laroche’s opinion that the *šīnapši*- was a part of the temple,²⁹⁸ we may have in Text K a *pars pro toto* construction, in which the *šīnapši*-structure stands for the temple as a whole.

The particular function of the *šīnapši*- may well have been ritual purification. In the “Ritual of Papanikri,” after the mother-to-be has become impure through the collapse of the birth-stool, she leaves her home, and delivery takes place outside of a *šīnapši*-. There follows a series of offerings performed both outside and inside of this structure (I 12–II 6).

Ha III 25. Perhaps KÁ was mistakenly omitted here after [PA-N]I, the phrase originally being similar to III 35–36.

Ha III 26. *ki-el-di ḫal-za-a-i: keldi* is a Hurrian word meaning “well-being,”²⁹⁹ corresponding in texts found at Ras Shamra to the Semitic *šlm*.³⁰⁰ The cultic use of shouting is discussed by Goetze, Tunn 33–34, and an extensive list

295 Note that the later Greek (originally Anatolian!) goddess Hekate, who was quite concerned with the chthonic realm, received her worship of preference at crossroads—see Theodor Kraus, Hekate (Heidelberg, 1960).

296 JCS 17, 1963, 61.

297 AOATS 3, 36–38.

298 See now Laroche, GLH 234, and also the sequence *I-NA URUKi-iz-zu-wa-at-na I-NA É^{4IM} É^{šī-na-ap-ši-ya}* in XXX 31 I 5.

299 See AOATS 3, 85–87, with references cited there.

300 See Laroche, Ugar V 526, and GLH 141–42.

of examples is provided by Neu, StBoT 5, 37–38. Note that in the “Ritual of Papanikri” III 46 ff. a *patili*-priest also cries “*keldil!*” immediately after returning from performing an offering in another location, and immediately before a meal.

Ha III 29. I-NA UD.3.KAM in Hb III 4' indicates that the third day of ritual activity begins here. No mention of individual days is found here or anywhere else in the preserved portion of the main text, but the lack of *lukkatta* in col II of Ha indicates that all of the action here described took place during the course of the second day. The entirety of the first day, then, has probably been lost along with the first column.

Ha III 30ff. [nu] *ma-a-an* SAL *te-eš-ḫa-az pâr-ku-i-iš*: *tešḫa-* here cannot refer to sexual intercourse,³⁰¹ for the pregnancy has certainly progressed too far for it to have been practiced conveniently or safely. Rather, this is a reference to an incubation oracle—cf. Text K § 22 and the “Ritual of Papanikri” I 43–44 for other instances of such in connection with a pregnant woman. Ha III 30 and 35 have the abl. *tešḫaz*, while Hb III 6' has the inst. *tešḫit*. This latter shows that the abl. in the main text is also to be understood in an instrumental sense, and not as an ablative of separation. That is, what is demanded is a positive indication through a dream that the woman stands in an acceptable relationship to the divine world, and not merely that the woman have no contrary night vision. If this condition has not been met, the woman cannot at this point enter the inner chamber, but must wait until nightfall (cf. III 38–39).³⁰²

Ha III 35ff. Hd 4'ff. begins to run parallel here. Lines 1'–3' of this fragment, however, provide a text which is not paralleled elsewhere among the duplicates:

]× *ma*-[
a)n-da p[i-
 NINDA.Ì.]E.DÉ'.A-*kán* EGI[R-

Ha III 36. Hb III 11' has *a-ra-aḫ-zé-ni-ya-aš-ša-an* (= *arabzeni*=*ya=šan*), while Hd 5' reads *a-ra-aḫ-zé-na-ya-aš-ša-an* (= *arabzena*=*ya=šan*). Space considerations in the main text, however, allow only the restoration of the adverb *a-ra-[aḫ-za]*, which in any case is preferable both grammatically and contextually. For it is clear that if the woman cannot at this point enter the inner chamber, she might nonetheless stretch out a hand toward the birth-stool while remaining outside. *arabzeni* is an adjective in the dat./loc. case, modify-

301 See HW¹ 222.

302 See Kammenhuber, THeth 7, 40.

ing *ḥarnai*, while *arabzena* may be an adjective in the terminative case or simply an error. In any event, it is hardly likely that there existed an “exterior birth-stool” as a complement to the actual apparatus. The text of Hb and Hd must be regarded as corrupt here.

Ha III 38. *ma-ab-ḥa-an-ma ne-ku-uz* MUL *wa-at-ku-zi* here was held by Goetze, Lg 27, 1951, 474, to have been corrupted from the fuller *nekuḥ meḥur kišari* MUL *watkuzi* of II 46f. This interpretation is probably correct, since an isolated gen.³⁰³ *nekuḥ* makes little sense syntactically.

Ha III 39. Hb and Hd here diverge from the main exemplar. The activity described in *Ha III 39–42* is definitely lacking in these two parallels, but it is quite possible that the text as preserved in Hb III 13'–15' and Hd 7'–11' is parallel to that of *Ha III 43–47*—both passages seem to deal with an offering at a crossroads. But due to the very fragmentary condition of the main text in these lines, this parallelism is uncertain. There follows the text of Hd 7'–11', with variant readings from Hb indicated in the textual apparatus:

7'. [(*na-aš-ta* ^{LÚ}*pa-*)]*a-ti-li-iš*^a MUŠEN.GAL^b KASKAL-ši

8'. [(*ḥa-at-ta-r*)]*i-ša-na-aš*^c *pa-ra-a pi-e-t*[*a-i*]

9'. [(*na-an*)] A-NA DINGIR.LÚ^{MEŠ}^d *ši-pa-an*-[*ti*]

10'. [*na-aš* EGIR-*pa*] *ú-iz-zi na-aš* PA-NI [É.ŠÀ UŠ-KE-EN]

11'. [A-NA SAL-*ya*] UŠ-KE-EN-NU *nu k*[*i-el-di ḥal-za-a-i*]

10'–11' have been restored through comparison with *Ha III 24ff.* These lines may be translated:

And the *patili*-priest tak[es] forth a duck to the road, to the crossing. And he offer[s] it to the male deities.

[And he] comes [back]. And before [the inner chamber he bows down]. [And to the woman] one bows down. And [he cries out] “we[ll-being!]”

Ha III 44. *ḥa-at-ri-[eš-ša²-n]a²-aš*: This restoration is conjectural and is suggested only because *ḥa-at-ri-[eš-n]a-aš*, as in III 20, would not satisfactorily fill the available space.

a. Hb III 13': ^{LÚ}*pa-ti-li-iš*

b. Hb III 13': 1 M[UŠEN.GAL]

c. Hb III 14': *ḥa-at-ta-ri-eš-na-aš*

d. Hb III 15': DINGIR.LÚ^{MEŠ}-*aš*

303 See Schindler, KZ 81, 1967, 301.

The Ritual of Papanikri

The activities detailed in the preserved portion of Text H are designed in part to purify the birth-stool in anticipation of its role in parturition. If, in spite of this ritual preparation, the apparatus proved defective when actually employed, this was naturally viewed as a bad omen, indicative of the displeasure of some deity. The tablet KBo V 1, edited by Sommer and Ehelolf in 1924, deals with this very eventuality.³⁰⁴ It is neither necessary nor possible to re-edit completely this text here. However, I will present a summary of the contents of this ritual and briefly comment on an important passage in order to facilitate the understanding of Texts H and J, as well as of the corpus of Hittite birth rituals as a whole.

KBo V 1 is a New Hittite text, the sole grammatical archaism being the use of the terminative *parna*, “to the house” (III 2) which is certainly to be explained as a frozen form in a very common word. While the appearance of the late form of the sign LI (III 49, IV 24) indicates a thirteenth-century date for the tablet, the absence of any very late grammatical or orthographic features, together with the mixture of older sign forms (e.g., URU, I 1, 11, IV 42; AK, I 20, II 24, 28, III 42, 51; and LI, I 1, 6, 10, 13, 14, etc.) with later ones (e.g., LI; and IK, I 1, 3, 42, 44, 46, II 45) suggests that we are dealing here with a later copy of a fourteenth-century composition.³⁰⁵

The naming by the author of the capital city of Kizzuwatna as his home (^{URU}*Kummanni*, I 1, IV 42) indicates a Hurro-Luwian background for this text.

The introduction (I 1–6) reads: “Papanikri, *patili*-priest of the land of Kummanni, says as follows: ‘If a woman is (seated) upon the birth-stool, and the dish of the birth-stool is damaged, or a peg is broken—then if the woman has not yet given birth, but is (still) seated thereupon, then the boards’ they open again. But it (the birth-stool³⁰⁶) is no longer pure.’”³⁰⁷

304 See Pap. Despite such difficulties for the contemporary reader as an outdated system of transliteration, this early work of Hittitology is still remarkably useful.

305 The appearance of divergent shapes for LÜ—e.g., that of I 1 and 14, as opposed to that of I 7 and II 10—also lends support to the interpretation of KBo V 1 as a recopied text.

306 The subject of the nominal sentence in I 6 cannot be the woman, as construed by Sommer and Ehelolf, Pap 3*, since the predicate adjective *šu-up-pi* is neuter.

307 1. *UM-MA* ^m*Pa-a-pa-ni-ik-ri* ^{LÜ}*pa-ti-li* ^{ŠA} ^{KUR} ^{URU}*Kum-ma-an-ni*
2. *ma-a-an SAL-za* *ḫar-na-a-ú-i e-eš-zi nu* ^{DUG}*LIŠ.GAL*

There follows the ritual itself, composed as usual in the third person: The *patili*-priest removes the birth-stool and its accessories from the home of the mother, pausing at the door of the house to burn birds³⁰⁸ for the deity Alitapara³⁰⁹ and the gods of the city (DINGIR^{MES} URU^{LIM}) (I 7–11). The implements are then carried to a *šinapši*,³¹⁰ where the *patili*-priest sets them down outside. Here the woman gives birth (I 12–14).³¹¹

The remainder of this, the day of birth, and the two following days are taken up by an oracular inquiry to determine the cause of the bad omen and by purificatory rites intended to remove this blemish. These ceremonies, which take place both within and outside of the *šinapši* (I 18–57, II 1–6) and in the home of the mother (II 7ff.), do not seem to be peculiar to birth and thus may be passed over without comment.³¹² I need mention here only the laconic description of the purification of the child on the evening of the third day: DUMU-ya *šu-up-pi-ya-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi* (II 5).

However, on the fourth night is performed a ceremony which is indeed of importance for our subject. Therefore I shall deal more extensively here with the passage in question.

After an involved seven course cultic meal in the home of the mother, at which Tešub and Hebat are divine guests, and where the human company is composed of *patili*-priests and *katra*-women in addition to the family of the mother, we find:

3. *ḫar-na-a-u-wa-aš ḫu-ni-ik-ta-ri na-aš-ma* GIŠKAK

4. *du-wa-ar-na-at-ta-ri nu-za ma-a-an* SAL^{TUM} *na-a-i-i*

5. *ḫa-a-ši na-aš-kán a-pi-ya-pát an-da e-eš-zi nu* GIŠDUB^{BI.A}

6. EGIR-pa *ḫa-aš-ša-an-zi nu nam-ma* Ú-UL *šu-up-pi*

308 For the practice of purification through the burning of birds, seemingly characteristic of Hurrian-influenced texts at Boğazköy, see Haas/Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 50ff.

309 This divine name is found only here.

310 See above, p. 113.

311 *nu-za-kán* SAL^{TUM} *an-da-an-pát ḫa-a-ši*.

312 In I 25–40 the birth-stool and its pegs are treated, but only as defiled objects which must be purified and presented to the deity of the *šinapši*.

III ... *ma-ab-ḫa-an-ma-aš-ša-an*

52. 7^{DUG}LIŠ.GAL *a-ri nu* ^{SAL.MEŠ}*ka-at-ri-e-eš*
TÚG-an *ša-ra-a-an-zi*

54. *ma-ab-ḫa-an-ma* TÚG-an *ša-ra-a-u-an-zi*
zi-in-na-an-zi nu SÍG SA₅ *an-da*

IV *ta-ru-up-pa-an-zi na-at-ša-an* A-NA TÚG *še-ir*

2. *ti-an-zi šu-ri-ta-ya i-ya-an-zi nu-za* ^{LÚ}*pa-ti-li-iš*
wa-a-tar Ī.DÜG.GA *da-a-i na-at-kán pa-ra-a pí-e-da-a-i*
4. *nu* SILÁ *ú-e-te-ni'-it kat-ta a-an-ša-an-zi* KA×U-an
GİR-ŠU *ar-ḫa a-ar-ri nam-ma-an* Ī.DÜG.GA-it
6. *iš-ki-iz-zi nu-uš-ša-an* SÍG SA₅ A-NA GİR^{MEŠ}.ŠU
ḫa-ma-an-ki ^{SÍG}*šu-ú-ri-ta-ma-aš-ši-iš-ša-an*
8. A-NA SAG.DU-ŠU *an-da ḫu-u-la-li-ya-an-zi*

na-aš-ta ^{LÚ}*pa-ti-li-iš* SILÁ *an-da pí-e-da-a-i*

10. *na-an-kán* A-NA 7 IZI 7-ŠU *še-ir ar-ḫa wa-ab-nu-zi*
na-an-ša-an ^{SAL}*ka-at-ri gi-e-nu-wa-aš da-a-i*
12. *da-ma-a-i-iš-ma* ^{LÚ}*pa-ti-li-iš* ŠA ME-E ^{DUG}UTÚL
ša-ra-a kar-ap-zi na-at-kán A-NA ^{DUG}AB×A
14. *an-da la-a-ḫu-u-i*

nu SILÁ *a-ar-ra-an-zi nam-ma ar-ru-um-ma-aš*

16. *wa-a-tar* PA-NI DINGIR^{LIM} *la-a-ḫu-u-i* SILÁ-ma *ú-nu-wa-an-zi*
nu-uš-ši TÚG^{BI.A} SA₅ *wa-aš-ša-an-zi*
18. *ku-ú-pa-ḫi-na-aš-ši-kán ši-ya-an-zi* KI-LI-LA-ya-aš-ši-iš-ša-an
tar-na-an-zi ḪAR.ŠU^{BI.A}.ŠU-ya-aš-ši-kán
20. ḪAR.GİR-ya A-NA GİR^{BI.A} *ti-an-zi*
na-an ši-na-ap-ši-ya pí-e-da-an-zi

22. BE-EL SISKUR.SISKUR EGIR-an *i-ya-ad-da-a-ri*
ma-ab-ḫa-an-ma-at KÁ⁶ *ši-na-ap-ši a-ra-an-zi*

24. *nu-za* EN.SISKUR.SISKUR *e-ša-ri nu-uš-ši-kán* ^{LÚ}*pa-ti-li-iš*
SILÁ *ar-ḫa da-a-i na-an-kán šu-up-pa-i pí-di*
26. *an-da pí-e-da-i nu ki-el-di ḫal-za-a-i*

III ... When

52. the seventh dish arrives, then the *katra*-women
unravel[?] a garment.
-

54. And when
they have finished unraveling[?] the garment, then red wool
-

- IV they gather up, and it on top of the garment
2. they place, thereby fashioning a ball of yarn[?]. Then the *patili*-priest
takes water (and) fine oil, and these things he carries forth (from the
house).
4. And they wipe down a lamb—(its) mouth
(and) its feet he (the *patili*-priest) washes off. Further, with the fine oil
6. he anoints it, and the red wool onto his feet
he binds. Then the ball of yarn[?]
8. they wrap around its head.
-

- Then the *patili*-priest takes the lamb in(to the house),
10. and he swings it seven times over the seven fires.
Then he places it on the knees of a *katra*-woman.
12. But another *patili*-priest
lifts up a pot of water and it into the wash basin
14. he pours.
-

- Then they wash the lamb. Further,
16. he pours out the bath water before the deity. But they adorn the lamb,
and they dress it in red garments.
18. And they put the helmer[?] on it, and the wreath
they put on it. And his (i.e., of the child) bracelets (on its forelegs)
20. and the anklet(s) on its (hind-)feet they put,
and they take it to the *šinapši*.
-

22. The offerant (i.e., the mother) goes behind.
But when they arrive at the gate of the *šinapši*,
24. then the offerant sits down, and the *patili*-priest
takes the lamb away from her, and to a pure place
26. takes it away. And he cries “well-being!”
-

- na-aš-ta* EN.SISKUR.SISKUR I-NA ^Éši-na-ap-ši-ya an-da
 28. *pa-a-an-zi* nu IŠ-TU MUŠEN ur-na-az-*bi*-ya
ši-pa-an-ti 1 MUŠEN-ma ki-el-di-ya *ši-pa-an-ti*
 30. *nu-za* EN^{MEŠ} SISKUR.SISKUR ar-*ha* I-NA É-ŠU-NU
pa-a-an-zi ma-ab-*ha*-an-ma lu-uk-kat-ta
 32. *na-aš-ta* DUMU ša-an-*ha*-an-zi ^{GIŠ}pa-ab-*hi*-ša-ya-aš-ši
ša-ra-a wa-al-*ha*-an-zi
-
34. UD-az-ma-kán iš-tar-na pa-iz-zi
nu ši-ip-ta-mi-ya te-ri-ya-al-la
36. *ši-pa-an-da-an-zi*
-

- Then the offerant(s) go into the *šinapši*,
28. and with a bird for *urnazhiya*
he offers. And one bird he offers for well-being.
30. Then the offerants go away to their own houses.
But when it is morning,
32. then they purify the child, and above him
they pound a stick[?] (into the wall[?]).
-
34. Meanwhile the day passes,
and seven-strength (and) triple-strength beer[?]
36. they libate.
-
-

Commentary

IV 2. For *šurita*-, see above, p. 100.

IV 17ff. The garments and jewelry employed here certainly belong to the new-born. In the list of provisions for this ceremony (III 50–54), where four examples of several of the articles are on hand, they are expressly characterized as TUR, “small.”

IV 18. For *kupabi*- designating a piece of headgear, see Hoffner, JNES 23, 1964, 67, with n. 17.

IV 22. For *BĒL SISKUR.SISKUR* in reference to a woman, see the discussion below, pp. 167f., concerning EN.SISKUR(.SISKUR).

IV 28. *urnazbiya* is a Hurrian offering-term, listed by Haas and Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 101, among the “Heilsbegriffe.”

IV 32. Outside of this passage and Text J,³¹³ *paḫḫiša*- is attested only in the fragmentary KBo XXII 135 I 3' (1 ^{GIŠ}*pa-ab-bi-ša*), where it is apparently part of the equipment of a seer (^{LU}AZU, I 6', 7'). Sommer and Ehelolf suggested the translation “Stock,”³¹⁴ which is neither necessary for the few passages available, nor contradicted by their evidence. I have employed the translation “stick” only for convenience.³¹⁵ What is probably indicated both here and in Text J is a magic act to drive out evil forces from the vicinity of the child.

IV 34. For *pai*-, “go,” indicating the passage of time, see Kümmel, StBoT 3, 94, and Text Ka obv. 27.

IV 35. *ši-ip-ta-mi-ya* and *te-ri-ya-al-la*, written *7-mi-ya* and *3-ya-al-la*, respectively, in Text Ja 15', apparently designate beverages. For the possible significance of these terms, see Ehelolf, OLZ 1929, 323 ff. To the passages cited there add HT 74: 5: ^{DUG}KU-KU-UB *te-[r]i²-[ya-al-la]*.

In this section of the “Ritual of Papanikri,” in a rite similar to that involving a goat in Text C §§ 10'ff., a lamb is employed as a substitute for the new-born

313 *pa-bi-iš-ša* in XIX 44 rev. 4 and 7 is probably not relevant here because of the lack of the determinative ^{GIŠ}. The broken context also makes it difficult in both instances to decide if *paḫḫiša* is even to be isolated as an independent word.

314 Pap 76. This was based on a false reading of the form in “Papanikri” as ^{GIŠ}PA-ab-bi-ša, i.e., as a Sumerogram with an extended phonetic complement. See the retraction of this view by Ehelolf, OLZ 1929, 322.

315 A comparison with XVII 4 I 11: DUMU-an ^{GIŠ}PA-it GUL-ab-bu-un, “I smote the child with the stick,” is not in order here, for in this instance the child is the direct object of *walḫ*-, which is not the case either here or in Text J.

child. While in Text C the animal is ritually associated with the infant by being touched to his body, the same goal is here attained through the dressing of the lamb in the clothes of the child.³¹⁶ The substitution of the lamb for the child is also accomplished by placing it on the knees of a *katra*-woman (IV 11). This action may be interpreted either as a ritual parody of the setting of the newborn on the knees of the father,³¹⁷ or as a symbolic representation of the birth itself, with the *katra*-woman playing the role of the mother. In any case, the washing of the lamb in IV 15³¹⁸ and the pouring out of the bath water before a deity must be understood as reflecting a normal purificatory rite carried out on a human infant. The purifications of the child which are cursorily mentioned in II 5 and IV 32 were probably of this sort.

Although the "Ritual of Papanikri" is expressly intended to deal with a special situation arising in connection with birth, a comparison of col. IV, quoted here, with Text J makes it likely that the activities described were not restricted to this one set of circumstances.³¹⁹ That is, the mention of a purificatory lamb (SILÁ *pu-u-bu-ga-ri-in*³²⁰) in Text Ja rev. 14' and the employment of the ^{GIS}*pabḫiṣa-* in § 1' of Text J indicate that the rites involving these materials here were of more general applicability.

316 Cf. XXIV 5+ obv. 19'ff. (StBoT 3, 10), where a prisoner of war, serving as a ritual substitute for the Hittite king, is clothed in the garments of royalty.

317 See above, pp. 5f.

318 The bathing and anointing in IV 4–6 are simply a preparatory purification of the animal for its ritual role.

319 It is possible that the special activities called forth by the damage to the birth-stool come to an end already with the purification of the *šnapši* in II 6.

320 See below, p. 131.

Jc Obv.

- 1'. [] × *na-aš da*-[
 2'. [] × × *ša-ra-a* × [
 [] × × SUD-*an-ni-eš-kán-z*[*i*
 4'. [] MUŠEN^{III.A}-*ya it*²- × × [
 [] × × *wa-ar-nu-uš-kán-z*[*i*
-
- 6'. [*hu-u*²-] *ma-an-da-aš* 7^{NA4} *pa*-[*aš-ši-la-aš*⁷
 [*ar-ḫa ar-ri* × [
 8'. [*iš-ḫu*²-*u-wa-i nu* GIM^{??}-*an*^{??}[
 [] SUD-*u*²-*wa-a*[*r*

Ja Rev.

1'-2' (traces)

- [^{GIŠ}*p*a-a-⟨*aḫ*-⟩ *ḫi-ša* Ū-UL *wa-al-aḫ*-[*zi* (-*kán*² ×)]
 4'. [*nu-uš-ša-an* 1^{GIŠ} *pa-aḫ-ḫi-ša* × [(× × -*an-zī*)]
 [(*ma-aḫ-ḫa*^b-)*an-ma-aš*²] *pár-ku-iš-zi* ^{GIŠ}*pa-aḫ-ḫi-ša da-a-an wa-al*-[(*ha-an*-)*zī*]
-
- 6'. [*ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma*] DUMU^{??}-*aš ḫa-ra-a-ú-ni an-da a-kī nu DUMU-an*
^{LÚ.MEŠ}*p*[*a-a-ti-li-iš*]
 [*ša-ra-a*² *da-an-z*] *i na-an dam-me-li pí-e-di*^c *pí-e-da-an-zi nu* [*ma-aḫ-ḫa-an*]
-
- 8'. [(*ut-tar*-)*ša-mi*-] *it*^d *na-an QA-TAM-MA i-ya-an-zi ḫa-ra-ú-ni-in-na*^e
 [(*da-an-zī*)]
 Jc [*nu ma-aḫ-ḫa*] *an ut-tar-ša-mi-it nu QA-TAM-MA i-ya-an*-[(*zī*)]
-
- 10'. [*n*am-*ma-kán* ^{LÚ}*pa-a-ti-li-iš*^f DUMU.NITA *pa-ra-a da-a-i I-NA*
 [()]
 [UD.(N.KAM-*m*)*a*] × -*e ti-an-zi nam-ma a-pí-e-da-ni UD.KAM-ti*
u-uz-z[*i-y(a)*]

a. with duplicates KBo XVII 68 (Jb) and VAT 6212 (Jc)

b. Jb 2': GIM-[*an*]c. Jb 5': [*dam*]-*mi*-⟨*li*⟩ *pí-di*d. Jc rev. 1': *ut-tar-te-it*e. Jb 6': *ḫa-ra-ú*-⟨*ni*⟩[*n-na*]; Jc rev. 2': *ḫa-ra-ú*-⟨*ni*⟩*in-na*f. Jb 8': [^{LÚ}*ba-a-ti-li-iš*]; Jc rev. 4': ^{LÚ}*ba-a-ti-li-iš*

Jc Obv. too fragmentary for translation

Ja Rev.

1'-2' (traces)

§ 3'' [...] the stick[?] he does not pou[nd].

4'. [...] and one stick[?] they [...]

[But] whe[n he[?]] is pure, for the second time a stick[?] they poun[d].

6'. [If the] child^{??} dies in the birth-stool[?], then the *p[atili]*-priests]

§ 4'' [take up[?]] the child, and they take him to a different spot. And [as are]

8'. [thei]r^a [instructions], so they treat him. And the birth-stool[?] they take.

[And a]s are their instructions, so they act.

10'. [... f]urther, the *patili*-priest takes the male child forth. On

§ 5'' the ...-th day [...] they place—further, on that day the *uzzi*-offering

a. Jc rev. 1': "your"

- 12'. [(zu-ur-)]ki-ya ši-pa-an-ti nu-za ar-na-am-mi-it-ti
 Jc [še-ḫi-li-]iṣ-ki-ḫn-na^a pa-a-i^b
-
- 14'. [ku-un-]za-ga-an-na-ḫi-ša i-ya-an-zi nu SILÁ pu-u-ḫu-ga-ri-in
 [()]
 [] 3-ya-al-la 7-mi-ya ši-pa-an-ta-an-zi SAL-za-ma-za [()]
- 16'. [ḫa-ra-a²-]ú-ni da-a-an pá-r-ku-nu-zi
-
- [ma-aḫ-ḫa-an DUMU-aš²] KASKAL-ši-ma a-ki nu DUMU.NITA Ú-
 NU-TE²[^{U1}]A [G]IR²-ya ku-e IT-T[I-ŠU²]
- 18'. []^{LÚ.MES}ba-ti-li-e-eš a-dq-an-zi-pát ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-[ma ut-tar-ša-mi-
 it]
- [na-an] QA-TAM-MA i-ya-an-zi I-NA UD.7.KAM-ma-kán^{LÚ}
- 20'. []×^{MES}pa-ra-a [()]
-
- []-ša-an pa-ra-a ḫu-uš-ki-iz-zi[
 22'. [ku-un-z]i-ga-na-ḫi-ša i-ya-z[i
 []^ḫši-nap-ši ×[
 24'. []×-da-iz-z[i

a. erasure follows

b. paragraph stroke omitted in Jc

12'. for *zurgi* he offers. And he ...,
and he gives [*še_hel*]*iški*.

14'. [... the *kun*]*zagannabit* they prepare. And a substitute lamb

§ 6'' [...] triple-strength and seven-strength beer² they libate. But the woman

16'. [... at the birth-]stool² a second time purifies herself.

§ 7'' [And if the child²] dies *en route*, then the male child and such utensils of
fired clay² as are wi[th him²]

18'. [...] the *patili*-priests eat. [But,] as [are their instructions,]
so they treat [him]. But on the seventh day, [...]

20'. [...] forth.

§ 8'' [...] he waits longer² [...]

22'. [... the *kunz*]*igannabit* he pre[pares ...]

[...] *šinapši*-house [...]

24'. [...] he ... [...]

Commentary

I have been able to study Bo 4951 (Ja) both from a photograph and from a transliteration prepared by H. Ehelolf, and provided to me by Prof. H. Otten. This latter witness to the text is important because several signs are unclear on the photo, while Ehelolf had the advantage of preparing his transliteration directly from the original. In addition, he indicated that he had checked his readings on 24.VII.34, and we may therefore assume that the work was done with care. KBo XVII 68 (Jb) is a duplicate to (approximately) lines 4'–10' of the main text. In the Introduction to KBo XVII, p. V, VAT 6212,³²¹ which I have also studied from a photograph, is identified as a duplicate to number 68, and it is thus also a duplicate to Ja.

This composition dates from the early part of the Empire period—note especially the Hurro-Luwian influence manifest in *arnamitti* (Ja rev. 12') and *kunziganabit* (Ja rev. 14' and 22'). An older feature is the use of the enclitic possessive pronoun (*uttar-šamit*, Ja rev. 9').³²²

All of these fragments are relatively small, and thus a dating on the basis of script is uncertain, but Ja displays no late sign forms and may belong to the fourteenth century. On the other hand, the spelling GIM-[*an*] in Jb 2' (versus *ma-ab-ḫa-an* in Ja rev. 18') and the appearance of the late form of LI in Jc rev. 4' show that these pieces are later in date.

If the reading DUMU^{??}-*aš* in Ja rev. 6' and the restoration [DUMU-*aš*] in Ja rev. 17' are correct, then this portion of a ritual is intended for the unfortunate, but hardly rare, occasion when the child should perish at birth. Since the material in question comes from the reverse of a tablet, it is probable that the text as a whole dealt with birth in general, and that only this section was concerned with the possible death of the new-born.

In OLZ 1929, 322ff., Ehelolf transliterated and discussed lines 3'–5', 10'–12' and 15' of Ja, which he characterized as “wohl die Rs. einer ein'kolumnigen Tafel.”

Jc obv. The poorly preserved portion of the obverse here probably deals with purificatory activities not particular to birth. The remaining fragmentary lines are not duplicated by any other material in our corpus.

Ja rev. 6'. While the reading DUMU^{??}-*aš* is possible from the photo, the sign is not at all clear. Ehelolf, however, in an addition to his original transliteration also read DUMU[?].

For the *patili*-priests, see below, pp. 235–38.

321 Due to a typographical error, this appears in the volume incorrectly as VAT 6112.

322 See HE I² § 106.

From context, *harauni-*, which occurs only in this text, would seem to be a metathesized variant of *harnau-*, “birth-stool.”

Ja rev. 7'f. For the restoration [*ma-aḫ-ḫa-an ut-tar-ša-mi-*]*it*, cf. *Ja rev. 9'*.

Ja rev. 10'. It is not certain whether the presence of DUMU.NITA here and in *Ja rev. 17'* indicates that these ritual instructions are to apply only to the death of a baby boy.

Ja rev. 11'. u-uz-z[i-ya]: For this Hurrian offering term, see Haas/Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 63–64, where it is catalogued among the “Unreinheits- oder Sündenbegriffe.”

Ja rev. 12'. ar-na-am-mi-it-ti is a Luwian verb of unknown meaning,³²³ thus far attested only twice outside of this text: KBo VIII 90 II 21 shows prs.3.sg. *ar-na-mi-it-ti* as in Text J, while the duplicate XXIX 4 II 34 incorrectly³²⁴ has Luwian prs.3.pl. *ar-na-mi-in-ti*. *ar-na-mi-it-ti* is also found at XXIX 7 rev. 63—see Kronasser, SchwGotth 49, with literature there cited. Note that in all of these cases the *arnammi*-action follows directly upon a libation.

Ja rev. 13'. For the restoration at the beginning of this line, cf. KBo XXIII 1 I 56–57:

I-NA UD.2.KAM-*ma u-zi-ya zu-ūr-ki-ya ši-pa-an-d[a-an-zi]*
[i]š-[p]a-an-ti-*ma še-ḫi-li-iš-ki-in pī-an-[zi]*

It is uncertain whether *šeḫel(l)iški-* indicates some type of container, as suggested by Sommer and Ehelolf, Pap 33–34, or is rather a variant of the cultic term *šeḫelli-*, “purity.”³²⁵ Note only that XXX 31 IV 25–26:

ma-a-an še-ḫi-el-[i-iš-k]i-iš e-eš-zi nu-uš-ši
pī-an-zi ma-a-an [Ú-UL-]ma nu-uš-ši Ú-UL pī-an-zi

If there is any *š.* (left after other offerings), then they give (it) to him? (the deity Hilaššiti), but if [not], then they do not give (it) to him?.

indicates that *šeḫel(l)iški-* is a material which might be exhausted, as perhaps the contents of a container.

Ja rev. 14'. [ku-un-]za-ga-an-na-ḫi-ša and [*ku-un-z*]i-ga-na-ḫi-ša (*Ja rev. 22'*) are Luwian neuters in the -ša-case,³²⁶ here serving syntactically as accusatives. Elsewhere, *kunzi/agan(n)ahit-* is attested only in Text K. *Ka rev. 44* reads:

na-aš-ta DUMU.S[AL ku-un-zi-]ga-an-⟨na-⟩ḫi-ta¹-az ša-an-ḫa-an-[zi].

323 See Laroche, DLL 31, sub *arnami-*, and HW² 328, sub *arnami(n)t-*.

324 So with Neu, IF 82, 1977, 272.

325 See Vieyra, RA 51, 1957, 96ff.

326 See now Hawkins/Morpurgo Davies/Neumann, Hittite Hieroglyphs 31–34.

The abl./inst. here is ambiguous—the line could be translated either as “then they clean[se] the female child from *k.*,” or as “then they clean[se] the female child by means of *k.*” Ja rev. 14’ and 22’, however, where the verb *iya-* is employed with *kunzi/agan(n)ahit-*—“they/he prepare(s) the *k.*”—prove that *k.* is the material with which the cleansing is carried out, and not the evil from which the subject is purified.

This word shows the Hurrian adjectival suffix *-he*,³²⁷ which has been reinterpreted as the Luwian abstract suffix *-hi(t)*.³²⁸ The underlying *kunzi/a-*³²⁹ is attested fairly often in texts found at Boğazköy.³³⁰

In both X 28 I 19ff. and XI 21 a VI 9’ff., *ku-un-zi-ta* and a sun-disk (*šittar*) are employed in ceremonies of the state cult. *kunzita*, a “Hurrianizing” neuter plural in *-ta*,³³¹ must, like *šittar*, represent some religious symbol.³³² The EZEN *ku-un-zi* of XXV 27 I 22 might then be a festival involving, or performed for, this symbol, analogous to other ceremonies taking their names from implements—cf. EZEN *BIBRI*, “Festival of the Rhyton,” and EZEN^{MEŠ} *pulaš*, “Festivals of the Lot(s).”³³³

XXVI 84 II 8ff. (JCS 10, 1956, 64), where the *kunzi* of a certain district is apparently burned by the Kašcaeans and later scattered by Šuppiluliuma, may symbolically indicate the devastation wrought by war. In XXXI 84 III 52–53 (von Schuler, HDA 49),³³⁴ *ku-un-zu-uš(-)×*, if to be understood as the acc.pl. of *kunza-*, might indicate protective symbols provided for a new building.

^{sg}*kunzi/a-*, X 85:2, X 87:3, and XI 20 I 5, apparently indicates a woolen cord and does not belong to this Hurrian stem.

Derivatives of *kunzi/a-* include *kunzi-yala-*, an object with which the statue of a deity is provided in XXXVIII 3 II 8, and the offering terms *kunza-laḫi* (Bo 2437 I 21—see Güterbock, JCS 10, 1956, 64, n.a) and *kunza-gašši* (“Ritual of Papanikri” III 6, 13, 27). Both of these terms are found only in the immediate vicinity of *keldi*, “well-being.”^(d) *Kunzi-šalli-* is a deity associated with *Ḫebat* in

327 See Bush (1964) §§ 6.46ff. The unsuffixed form is found in the Hurrian-language passage KBo XXIV 64:11’, with restoration from duplicate KBo XXIV 65:10’: [(*ku-un-z*)]*i-ig-ga-an-ni pa-a-š[e-]na-du-uš*].

328 See Carruba, RHA 81, 1967, 152–53.

329 See Haas/Wäfler, OrAnt 13, 1974, 222, n. 37, and Laroche, GLH 155.

330 See Güterbock, JCS 10, 1956, 64, n.a., and Sommer, ZA 46, 1940, 23.

331 See Brosman, JAOs 88, 1968, 526–28.

332 See already Friedrich, RHA 47, 1947/48, 16: “*kunzi-* ‘heiliges Symbol’.”

333 See Güterbock, XVII^e RAI 177.

334]×*-it an-da ku-un-zu-uš(-)×*[/
]×^{Ḫ1.A} *ku-ut-te-eš* SIG₅-in *ú-e-[te-id-du]*.

XI 27 I 23; XXVII 13 I 16; KBo XI 5 II 8; KBo XIV 142 II 26; and IBoT II 49 III 8'.³³⁵ (d) *Kunzi-zi*/^d*Kuzzi-na* of X 68:9 and KBo XXIII 83:12f. is probably simply the divinized *kunzi/a*.³³⁶

Finally, in Hurrian-language passages, we find *ku-un-zi-ib*, “your (second person singular)³³⁷ *kunzi*,” throughout CTH 701,³³⁸ and *ku-uz-zi-bi-ya* in XXXII 50 obv. 16', which is probably to be interpreted as *kunzi=be=ya*.³³⁹

In determining the meaning of *kunzi/a*, we can begin with the offering terms containing it. Their close association with *keldi* suggests that they fall into the category of “Heilsbegriffe,” as defined by Haas and Wilhelm.³⁴⁰ *kunzi/a* might then be some desirable state or quality, an interpretation which fits well both its attestation as a symbol (parallel in usage to SIGs, “well-being,” which appears in the Bildbeschreibungen as an object held by divine images³⁴¹), and also the employment of its derivatives as divine names or epithets. Therefore, *kunzi/agan(n)abit*, although the precise meaning carried by the element *-gana-* is unknown, seems to indicate a certain purificatory material through whose use a desirable state might be attained.

SILÁ *pu-u-bu-ga-ri-in*: For *puḫugari*, a Hurrian lexeme derived from Akkadian *pūḫu*, “substitute,” see Kümmel, StBoT 3, 81–82. A SILÁ *puḫugari-* is found also in the oracle fragment XVI 9 III 5'f., but the adjective is otherwise attested at Boğazköy only with GUD, “bovine,” as in CTH 486.³⁴²

Ja rev. 16'. For the restoration [*ba-ra-a'*]-*ú-ni*, cf. *Ja rev.* 6' and 8'.

335 In OrAnt 13, 1974, 222, n. 27, Haas and Wäfler claim that ^d*Kunzišalli* is shown by XI 27 I 23 and KBo XI 5 II 8' to be the daughter of *Ḫebat*. XI 27 I 22–24 reads:

22. [^d]*Ḫé-bat* ^dLUGAL-*ma* ^d*Ḫé-bat* ^dAL-LA-AN-ZU

23. [^d*Ḫé*]-*bat* ^d*Ku-un-zi-ša-al-li*

24. [^d*Ḫé*]-*bat* ^d*Ḫa-šu-la-at-bi* 1 ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR AD.(KID)

The relationship to one another of the members of each of the pairs of divine names in this offering list is not clear, but just because Šarruma of line 22 is the son of *Ḫebat*, it is not a necessary conclusion that the other deities here are also her offspring.

336 Cf. also XLIV 35 IV 5: ^d*Ku-un-zi-zi-mi-x* [.

337 See Bush (1964) § 6.433.

338 E.g., KBo XXI 33 I 16, and always in the phrase *kunzib zun/z(z)umakib*.

339 For *-ya*, see Haas/Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 130ff.

340 See AOATS 3, 58. On pp. 88–89 *kunzagašši* is listed among the “Heilsbegriffe.”

341 See von Brandenstein, Bildbeschr 87ff.

342 Cf. also AT 454 IV 10'f.: UMMA-ŠUNU-MA ^dAp²-*pušwa* GÍR URUDU *wešta nuwarat* [/ *pu-bu-ga-ri-en-ma-wa kuiš pai nuwa* GÍR URUDU ŠA ^{LÚ.MEŠ}MA[ŠDA.

- Obv. [UM-MA^{7?} *ma-}a-an-za SAL-za ar-ma-ab-ḫi É-ri-ya-aš-
za-kán × [*
2. [*ḫar-n}u-u-i-aš-za Ú-UL e-ša-ri EGIR-pa ki-nu-wa-an[
[×-za-kán ú-iz-zi ku-un-zi-ga-an-na-ḫi-ta-az ša-
an-ḫ[a-zi]*
4. [*] -zi [()]*
-
- [*ma-ab-ḫa-an* ITU.7[?].KAM *ti-ya-a}z-zi nu nam-ma^{LÚ} MU-ZA-ŠU IT-TI
DAM-ŠU Ú-UL ti-y[a-az-zi]*
6. *nu-[za I-]NA ITU.7.KAM ar-ma-ab-ḫu-aš ma-a-la ši-
pa-an-ti [()]*
-
- nam-m[a]-ra-ya SISKUR.SISKUR^{MEŠ} pí-ra-an na-
at-za-kán pí-ra-an ar-ḫ[a]*
8. *ši-pa-a[n-ti -m]a[?] nu-za ma-a-la-pát ši-pa-an-ti nam-
ma-za u-zi-ya zu-úr-ki-[ya]
ši-pa-an-[ti še-ḫi-el-l]i-i[n-na] pa-a-i [()]*
-
10. *lu-uk-kat-t[a-ma-kán^{LÚ} AZU KA×U-Š]U pa-ra-a ki-iš-ša-an šu-up-pí-ya-
ab-ḫi^{LÚ} AZU-ša-an [()]
A-NA GAL GI[R₄ la-a-ḫu-u-i[?] an-d]a-ma-kán ḫar-na-a-in pí-eš-ši-iz-
zi^{GIŠ} ERIN-ya-ká[n]*
12. *^{GIŠ} ZÉ-ER-T[UM^{GIŠ} pa-a-i-ni an-d]a da-a-i nu-za-kán KA×U-ŠU pa-ra-a
šu-up-pí-ab-ḫi [()]
ḫur-li-li-ma-k[án ma-ab-ḫa-an an-d]a me-ma-i na-at ḫa-an-ti tup-pí
[()]*
-
14. *nam-ma-aš-ši EGIR-pa [pa-a-u-an-zi[?] Ú-UL] a-a-ra ma-a-na-an-za ḫal-
za-a-i-ya ku-iš-ki [()]
na-aš^É kal-li-i[š-tar-wa-ni[?] an-da pa-i}z-zi ḫar-nu-wa-aš-ma ma-ab-ḫa-
an šu-[up-]pí-y[a-ab-ḫu-wa-aš]*
16. *pár-ku-ya-an-na-aš-ša i[š-ḫi-ú-ul nu a-pí-]e-ya QA-TAM-MA-pát [()]*

a. with duplicate XLIV 59 (Kb)

- § 1 [Thus says PN:⁷ If] a woman becomes pregnant, and in the house she [...]
2. [...] (but) she does not (as yet) seat herself on the [birth-]stool... [...]
3. [...] she comes and with *kunzigannaḫit* cleanses herself.
4. she⁷ [...]
-
- § 2 [When the seventh⁷ month (of pregnancy) ar]rives, then the husband does not any longer “en[ter]” with his wife.
6. And [...] i]n the seventh month performs the *mala* (-offering) of pregnancy.
-
- § 3 Furthe[r, such] ... -offerings [as (are)] before [her]—them
8. (s)he perform[s] completely [...] And indeed (s)he performs the *mala*(-offering). Further, the *uzi* (and) *zurgi*(-offerings) (s)he perform[s]. And (s)he (thus) bestows [purit]y.
-
10. The next mornin[g the seer] purifies [he]r [mouth] as follows: The seer into a beaker of fired cla[y ... pours⁷]. But [there]in he throws *ḫarnai*. And cedar,
12. olive [(and) tamarisk⁷(-woods) there]in he places. And she purifies her own mouth.
- But [how] he [meanwhi]le speaks in Hurrian—this (material is the contents of) a separate tablet.
-
14. Further, it is [not] allowed for her [to go⁷] back (to her home⁷). If
- § 5 someone summons her, then she goes into the *kalli[štarwana]*-house. But as is the re[gulation] of the clean[sing] of the birth-stool
16. and of purification, even [now the]e things are the same.
-

a-aš-ta-u-wa-ar-ši a-d[a-an-na]]Ú-UL q-a-ra tap-pi-i[n-na? Ú-
U]L e-iz-za-[zi]

18. ZĀ.AḪ.LI ku-uš-ku-u[š-ša-an-ta-an? Ú-UL e-i]z'-za-zi SAR-[ašZ]Ā.AḪ.
LI az-zi-ki-i[z-zi]

SAL-aš aš-ta-u-wa-ar ^{LU}M[U-ZA-ŠU az-zi-ki-iz-zi aš-t]a-u-wa-[a]r
SAL-za Ú-UL e-iz-za-zi

20. [ma-a-a]n ^{LU}MU-ZA-ŠU-y[a? kat-(ti-iš-ši nu a-pa-)a-š]a šu-up-pa wq-ar-
pu-un^a nu ma-a-an
[(a-da-a)]n-na ku-w[a-pí]]e-eš-zi ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR-ma-
kán A-NA ^{LU}MU-TI-ŠU-ya

22. [tu-ug-g]a-a-ri [A-N(A DAM-ŠU-ya-at-kán)] tu-ug-ga-a-ri ^{DUG}LIŠ.GAL-
ya-aš-ma-(aš-)kán tu-ug-ga-a-ri

Kb [kat-(ti-iš-ši-y)]a-a[(š im-ma e-eš-zi ka)]t-ti-iš-ši-ma SAL¹-za Ú-UL e-iz-
za-zi

24. [Ú-NU-U(T ^{GIŠ}ya Ú-NU-UT GIR₄-ya ^{GIŠ}ha-a)]š-ša-al-li ^{GIŠ}NÁ^{III}.A-ya
hu-u-ma-an GIBIL ^{TIM}
[(da-an-na-ra-an-da) (d)a-an-z]i Ú-NU-UT ZABAR-ma ku-e
na-aš-ta an-da wa-ar-nu-wa-an-zi

26. [na-at EGIR-pa da-aš-kán-zi^f nu^g hu-u-m(a-an-da-pát)] da-aš-kán-zi
NU.GÁL ku-it-ki ut-tar

[SAL-an-z(a-ma-za ha-)]q-[(š nu ku-i)]t-ma-an UD.7.KAM pa-iz-zi na-
aš-ta ha-aš-ša-an-t[(a^b-aš)]

28. [(ma-a-la)]×[(a-pí-e-d)a-ni U]D.7.KAM an-da ši-pa-an-
da^c-an-zi nam-ma [(m)]a-q-[(an)]

[DUMU.NITA mi-i-ya-r]i [na-aš mi-i-y]a-ri^l [(ku-)]e-da-ni ITU.KAM
nu-kán ma-a-a[n]

30. [UD.1.KAM na-aš-ma UD.]3.KAM [] q-aš-ša-an-za
[()]

[na-aš-ta a-pí-e-iz ITU-[(az ar-ha kap-p)]u-u-uš-kán-zi^d nu ma-aḥ-ha-
an [ITU.3.KAM ti-ya-az-zi^e]

a. Kb obv. 4': [wa-a]r-pa-an-[za]

b. Kb obv. 13': ha-aš-ša'-an-da-aš

c. Kb obv. 14': [ši-p]a-an-ta-an-zi

d. text: DU; see commentary; Kb rev. 1: kap-pu-uš-ká[n-zi]

e. this clause omitted in Kb

- § 6 For her, eat[ing] *aštuauwar* [during this time⁷] is not allowed. [And] she does [no]t ea[t] *tappi*.
18. Groun[d-up] cress she does [not e]at, (but rather) garden cress she eat[s] continually.
The *aštuauwar* [of] the woman [her] h[usband eats continually] (but) [*ašt*]*auwar* the woman does not eat.
-
20. [If] her husband [is wi]th her, then h[e] too is washed^a pure. And when
§ 7 it is ti[me] to eat [...] a table for her husband also
22. [is re]quired, and [fo]r the wife one is also required. And a bowl for (each of) them is required.
Certainly he is [i]n her presence, but the woman does not eat [wi]th him.
-
24. Both the [utensi]ls of wood and the utensils of fired clay, the stool and
§ 8 the bed—each new thing—
[they] t[ake ...] empty. But such utensils as are of bronze—they burn therein.
26. [And they take them back. And al]l these things they take. There is no incantation.
-
- § 9 But when [the woman] gives birth, and while the seventh day (after birth) is passing, then they perform
28. the *mala*-(offering) of the new-born [...] on th[at] seventh day. Further, i[f]
[a male child is bor]n, in whatever month [he is bo]rn—whether
30. [one day or] three [d]ays [...] remain—
-
- § 10 [then from tha]t month they count off.^b And when [the third month arrives],

a. text: “I washed”; see commentary

b. text: “let them count off”; see commentary

32. [*na-aš-ta* DUMU.(NITA^{1a} *ku-u*)]*n*-zi-[(*ga-an-na-ḫi-ta-az*)] *ša-an-ḫa-an-zi ku-un-zi-ga-an-[(na-ḫi-ta-ma-az)]*
 [LÚ.MEŠ⁸ AZU (*še-e*)*i*] *k-ká[(n-zi^b) na-at A-NA a-p]* *í-e ši-pa-an-da-an-zi^c [()]*
-
34. [*ma-a-an-(na* DUMU.SAL-*ma*)] *mi-[(i-ya-ri) na-aš-ta^d (a-)]* *pí-e-iz ITU-az ar-ḫa kap-pu-[u]š-kán-[(zi)]*
 [(*ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma^e*] IT[(U).4.KAM *ti-ya-a*] *z-zi na-aš-ta* DUMU.SAL *ku-un-zi-ga-an-na¹-ḫi-ti^f*
36. [(*ša*-)*an-ḫa-an-zi*]
-
- Kb [*ḫa-aš-š(a-an-na-aš-ma ma-)]* *aḫ-ḫa-an* EZEN *ḫa-aš-ši-za ku-wa-pí nu*
 EZEN *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an i-en-zi^g*
38. [(*n*)-*a-aš* GIŠ⁹ *kur-ta-aš i-y*] *a-an-za na-aš* URU¹⁰ *Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-na nu-mu-kán*
 EZEN KA×U-it
 [Ú-UL *kar-ta n*] *a-an a-pí-e-iz up-pa-aḫ-ḫi*
-
40. [*ku-it²-(ma-an-n)*] *a-kán kar-ap-ta-ri na-aš-ta ḫa-at-ta-an-zi za-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi-ya*
 [(Ú-UL *ku-in-k*) *i n*] *u wa-aš-du-la-an-zi-ya Ú-UL ku-in-ki ma-an-kán^h*
k[(ar-)]tim-mi-ya-aḫ-ḫi
42. [*ku-in-kiⁱ*] EGIR-*pa (pa-iz-zi¹) ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma-kán pa-ra-a ti-ya-az-zi na-[a]n ú-wa-an-zi*
 [*pu²-n*] *u-uš-ša-an-zi*
-
44. [SAL-*an-za-ma-za*] *ku-wa-pí ar-ma-aḫ-ḫi nu-za-an tu-e-ig-ga-aš*
 § 14 DINGIR.MAH^{MEŠ} EGIR-*pa*
 [KASKAL-*az ḫu-it-ti-ya-an-z*] *i¹⁷ nu-uš-ma-aš EZEN ma-aḫ-ḫa-an a-pí-ya i-en-zi na-at ḫa-an-ti tu-p-pí*

a. Kb rev. 2 has]-*ta ku-un-zi-ga-na-ḫi-ta-az*; see commentary

b. Kb rev. 3: LÚ.(MEŠ) HAL *še-kán-zi*

c. this sentence omitted in Kb

d. Kb rev. 4: *nu-kán*

e. Kb rev. 5: *nu ma-aḫ-ḫa-an*; see commentary

f. Kb rev. 6: *ku-un-zi-ga-an-ḫi-ti*

g. Kb rev. 8: *i-en-(an)-zi*

h. Kb rev. 13: *ma-a-an-kán*

i. Kb rev. 14: [*pa²-i*] *z²-zi*; see commentary

j. this word written over erasure

32. [then the] male [child] with *kunzigannahit* they cleanse. For
[the seers are] expert with the *kunzigannahit*, [and it to ... th]ey offer.
-
34. But [if] a female child is born, [then] from that month they count off.
§ 11 [But] when [the fourth] month [ar]rives, then the female child with¹
kunzigannahit
36. [they] cl[ean]se.
-
- § 12 But when (it is time for) the Festival [of the Wo]mb—(that is,) at the time
when she gives birth—how they perform the festival—
38. [it is writ]ten up [as a *kurta*-tablet]. And it is (from) Kizzuwatna. And I
[do not know] the festival orally
[by heart, b]ut (rather) I will fetch it from there.
-
40. [Wh]ile² ... is being brought to an end, then they do not strike or battle
§ 13 anyone, [n]or do they sin against anyone. Were someone to anger
42. [someone² ...] <he would go²> back. But when he steps forward—then
they will see [hi]m.
[...] they [in]quire².
-
44. [But] at the time when [the woman] becomes pregnant, then the Moth-
§ 14 er-goddesses of the body back
[by means of trail(s) they entic]e². And how for them they perform the
festival there—this (material is the contents of) a separate tablet.

46. [^a_a ^a_a -m]a-aš-ša-an UD^{U1.A}.aš ma-aḥ-ḥa-an ti-ya-a-an nu
a-pa-a-at-ta ḥa-an-ti tup-pí
-
- [ku-it-ma-an-za SA]L-za ar-ma-u-wa-an-za nu A-NA
DINGIR.MAH^{U1.A} tu-e-ig-ga-aš EZEN ITU
48. [eš-ša-an-zi nu-uš-ma-aš p]í-eš-kán-zi-pát EGIR.KASKAL-ya-aš pí-e-
pát ḥar-kán-zi ma-aḥ-ḥa-an-ma-aš
[ú-da-an[?]]zi na-aš-kán ḥar-nu-wa-(aš-)ši-aš É-aš an-da a-
še-ša-an-zi
50. [] ×-dā LÚ.MEŠ AZU QA-TAM-MA pí-eš-kán-zi
-
- [ma-a-an-za SAL-za ḥa-a-ši] nu-za ḥa-a-ši ku-e-da¹-ni UD-ti nu A-NA
DINGIR.MAH^{U1.A}
52. [tu-e-ig-ga-aš[?] d]Ḥé-bat-ya[?] a-p]í-e-da-ni UD-ti EZEN ḥa-ša-an-ta-
{ra-}al-li-ya-aš
[i-en-zi nu-uš-m]a-aš-kán EZEN ar-ḥa a-pí-e-iz-
za i-en-zi
54. [M]EŠ[?] ar-ḥa up-pí-an-zi A-NA
DINGIR.MAH^{U1.A} d]Ḥé-bat-ya-kán
[ši-pa-an-da-an-zi nu A-NA ši-pa-an-]da-an-zi ma-ši-wa-an A-NA
EN.SISKUR.SISKUR a-aš-šu
-
- Rev. [UM-MA ma-a-an-za SAL-za ar-]ma-aḥ-ḥi ḥar-nu-u-í-ma-
aš-za Ú-UL e-ša-ri
2. [i]š-ḥi-ú-ul ki-iš-ša-an
-
- [m]a-aḥ-ḥa-an-ši ITU.6.KAM
UD.2.KAM a-aš-ša-an-zi
4. [nu nam-ma LÚ MU-ZA-ŠU IT-TI DAM-ŠU Ú-UL ti-y]a-az-zi
-
- [nu[?]-k]án ŠA SAL.MEŠ[?] ŠU.GI mar-ša-ya
SISKUR.SISKUR^{MEŠ}
6. [ši-pa-an-ti ma-aḥ-ḥ]a-an ma-a-la ŠA d]Ap-ri-it-ta-ya
[ši-pa-an-ti[?] na]m-ma-za E[GI]R-an-da ŠA LÚ AZU
m[ar-]ša-ya SISKUR.SISKUR^{MEŠ} ši-pa-an-ti
8. [ma-aḥ-ḥa-an-ma-aš ŠA] LÚ AZU mar-ša-ya SISKUR.SISKUR^{MEŠ} aš-nu-
zi
[nu-za a-pí-e-da-ni u]d-da-ni-í u-zi-ya pí-ra-an ar-ḥa ši-pa-an-ti še-ḥi-
el-(li-)in-na pí-an-zi
-

46. [...] but how the [...] of⁷ the days has come—this (material) too (is the contents of) a separate tablet.
-
- § 15 [While ... the wo]man is pregnant, then for the Mother-goddesses of the body a monthly festival
48. [they perform, and to them ...] they also [gi]ve continually. And *en route* they keep possession of them⁷. But when them
- [...] they [brin]g⁷, then they set them up in the house of the birth-stool.
50. [...] the seers likewise give continually.
-
- § 16 [When the woman gives birth,] then on whatever day she gives birth, for the Mother-goddesses
52. [of the body⁷ and for Hēbat⁷ ... on th]at day the Festival of Birth [they perform ... And for th]em they complete the festival according to that model⁷.
54. [...] they send back here. To the Mother-goddesses and to Hēbat [they sacrifice. And to ...] they [sac]rifice—as much as (seems) good to the offerant.
-
- Rev. [Thus says PN:⁷ If a woman becomes preg]nant, but does not (as yet)
- § 17 seat herself on the birth-stool,
2. [...] the regulation is as follows:
-
- § 18 [... wh]en for her in the sixth month two days remain,
4. [then the husband does not any longer “en]ter” [with his wife].
-
- § 19 [...] the *maršaya*-offerings of the Old Women
6. [she performs ... Wh]en the *mala*(-offering) of Apritta too [she performs⁷ ... F]urther, thereaf[ter] the *maršaya*-offerings of the seer she performs.
8. [But when] the *maršaya*-offerings of the seer she completes, [then] in [this] matter an *uzi*(-offering) she performs completely. And they (thus) bestow purity.
-

10. [*h*]a-ni-iš-ša-an-[t]a *h*ur-nu-an-ta an-da-ya-at ka₂-ru-
ú iš-tap-pa-an-ta
[*a*-pa-]a-aš SAL-za SISKUR.SISKUR^{MEŠ} aš-nu-zi ku-
it-ši im-ma ku-it pí-ra-an
12. [] × [-z]i² a-da-an-na-ya-aš-ši pí-an-zi ma-a-na-aš ŠA
DINGIR.GI₆-ya
[ma-a-na-aš Š]A [^d] SISKUR.SISKUR aš-nu-uz-zi
-
14. [ma-ab-*h*a-an²-m]a-aš-ši [a-pí-e-e]l ŠA DINGIR^{LIM} šar-la-at-ta ki-el-di-
ya-[y]a pí-ra-an
nu-za-kán [*h*u-]u-ma-an [i-ya-z]i ma-a-aš-ši ŠA ^Éši-nap-ši-aš-ša ku-it
[()]
16. SISKUR.SISKUR kal-la-a[r *h*a-an-da²-a]n e-eš-zi nu-za-kán a-pa-a-at-ta
[i-y]a-zi
*ma-ab-*h*a-an-ma-za-kán* MUŠ[EN^{U1.A} wa-a]r-nu-zi nu-za-kán ku-it ku-it
ŠA ^Éši-na-a]p-ši
18. ut-tar te-eš-*h*i-īt ú-wa-an-[na pa-iz-z]i² ku-i-ta-aš-ši-kán ma-ab-*h*a-an ZI-
ni an-d[a]^a
nu-za a-pí-e-d[a-]ni ud-da-n[i-i] I-[NA] ^Éši-nap-ši MUŠEN^{U1.A} pí-ra-
an ar-*h*a [wa-a]r-nu-zi
-
20. nam-ma-za I-NA ^Éši-na-ap-ši[ki-el-d]i-ya ší-pa-an-ti nu-za I-NA ^Éši-
na-ap-[ši] e-iz-za-zi
na-aš-ta SAL-za I[Š-]TU É.DINGIR^{LIM} p[a-ra-a ú-i]z-zi pí-ra-an-ma a-aš-
ki NINDA^a a-a-an-ta pár-ši-[y]a-an
22. na-at NINDA^a pár-šu-u[l-]li-e-eš i-en-[zi na-]aš-ta ma-ab-*h*a-an SAL-za pa-
ra-a a-ri 1 NINDA^a ša²-n[i²-i]d-du
ga-az-mi-in p[i-an-z]i LÚ.MEŠ^a pa-a-[ti-li-y]a-aš-ša SAL.MEŠ^a kat-ra-aš
LÚ.MEŠ^a zu-up-pa-ri-ya-lq-aš
24. NINDA^a ga-az-za-mi-u[š] pí-an-[zi]
nu-za SAL-za ar-*h*a ^Éar-za-na-aš pa-i[z-zi n]u šu-up-pa wa-a[r-p]a-an-za
e-eš-zi A-NA LÚ^a M[U-D]I-ŠU-ma
26. ma-a-an a-aš-šu n[a-aš-z]a kat-ti-iš-ši [e-iz-za-zi²] ku-wa-pi-ma a-[aš-šu²
n]u a-pád-da pí-en-na-i m[a-ab-*h*]a-an-ma
ITU.8.KAM ti-ya-(az-)z[i] na-aš-ta ma-[ab-*h*a-an UD.2.]KAM a-aš-ša-
an-zí nu-za SAL-za wa-ar-ap-zi [()]

a. erasure follows

10. [...] are whitewashed (and) sprinkled. And it (the house) has already
 § 20 been shut up.
 [...] th]at woman completes the rites. Whatever is before her,
 12. [...] and they give to her to eat. Whether it is of the Black Deity
 [or o]f [...] the rites she completes.
-
14. [B]ut [when? of tha]t deity the praise [an]d well-being(-offerings) (are)
 § 21 before her,
 then [a]ll (this) [she do]es. And if for her certain
 16. offerings of the *šinapši*-house are [establish]ed (by oracle) to be *kallar*,
 then these things also she [per]forms.
-
- § 22 But when she [bu]rns the bird[s], then whatever matter of the [*šina*]pši-
 house
 18. [come]s² to be see[n] in a dream—when anything (appears) in her mind—
 then in regard to that matter [...] i[n] the *šinapši*-house she [bu]rns up
 the birds completely.
-
20. Further, in the *šinapši*-house [...] for well-be]ing she offers. And she eats
 § 23 in the *šinap[ši]*-house.
 And the woman [com]es for[th] from the temple. But in front, in the
 gate, hot loaves are broken,
 22. and they mak[e] them into crumbs. [And] when the woman has come
 forth, one *šan[i]ddu*-loaf
 (and one) *gaz(za)mi* (-loaf) they g[iv]e. And to the *pa[tili]*-priests, the
katra-women (and) the torch-bearers
 24. they giv[e] *gazzami*-loaves.
-
- § 24 And the woman go[es] out to the inn. And she is washed pure. But
 26. if it (seems) good to her hus[ba]nd, then [he eats²] with her. But wherev-
 er (seems) r[ight²]-thither (s)he drives. But wh[e]n
 the eighth month arrives, and wh[en two days] remain, then the woman
 washes herself.

28. *lu-uk-kat-tq-[ma KA × U-Š]U wa-ar-[pa-an-zi nu Ū-N]U-TE^{MDēŠ} GIR₄ Ū-NU-TE^{MDēŠ} GIŠ-ya *ḫu-u-ma-an da-a[n-n]a-ra-an-da-an da-a[š-kán-zi Ū-NU-UT ZABA]R-m[a ku-e na-aš-ta a]n-da wa-ar-nu-an-zi na-at EGIR-pa da-aš-ki-i[t-ta-ri**
30. [nu[?] *ḫu-u-ma-an-da-pát da-aš-ká]n-z[i NU.G]ÁL ku-it-ki ut-tar*
-
- [*n]a-aš-ta SAL-za q-pí-e-da-aš pár-na-aš qn-da pa-iz-zi ḫar-nu-u-i-m[a¹⁷] × -wa-aš [()]*
32. [*a-pí-ē-da-aš pár-na-aš a[n-d]a zu-úr-ki-tq-a-iz-zi nam-ma-aš-ša-a[n] × [ḫar-na-a-i]n[?] an-da pí-eš-ši-ē-i[z-z]i GIŠ^{ERIN}-yq-kán*
- [*GIŠ^{ZÉ-ER-TUM} [()]*
34. [GIŠ^{pa-a-i-ni} *a]n-da Ū-UL da-a-[i]*
-
- [*nu-za-kán KA × U-ŠU pa-ra-a šu-up-pí-]ya-ab-ḫi ḫur-li-li-ma-ká[n m]a-ab-ḫa-an an-da me-ma-i na-at ḫ[a-]an-ti t[up-pí]^a*
36. [*-z]i an-da-ya ša-(an-)ḫa-an-zi [n]a-aš-ta nam-ma SAL-za pa-ra-a Ū-[U]L u-iz-zi*
- [*-u]š[?]-zi*
-
38. [SAL-an-za-ma-za *ḫa-a-ši nu ku-it-ma-a]n UD.7.KAM pa-iz-zi na-aš-ta ḫa-aš-š[a-a]n-ta-aš ma-a-la a-p[í-]e-da-ni UD.7.KAM an-da [ši-pa-an-da-an-zi nu ma-a-an DUMU.NITA mi-y]a-ti na-aš mi-ya-ti ku-e-da-ni [ITU-]mi na-aš-ta U[D.]1.KAM na-aš-ma UD.2.KAM*
40. [*a-aš-ša-]an-zq nq-aš-tq [a-pí-e-iz ITU-z]a ar-ḫa kap-pu-u-uš-kán-zi [()]*
-
- mq-ab-ḫa-an-ma ITU.3.KAM t[i-ya-az-zi n]a-aš-ta DUMU.NITA ku-un-zi-ga^b-(zi-)an-na-[ḫi-ta-az ša-]an-ḫa-an-zi*
42. *ku-un-zi-ga-an-na-ḫi-ša-m[a-az LU¹⁷]MES³AZU še-ik-kán-zi na-at A-N[A ši-pa-a]n-da-an-zi*
-
- ma-a-an DUMU.SAL-ma mi-ya-ti [na-aš-ta[?] a-p]í-e-iz ITU-za ar-ḫa kap-pu-u-u[š-kán-zi ma-]ab-ḫa-an-ma ITU.4.KAM*
44. *ti-ya-az-zi na-aš-ta DUMU.S[AL ku-un-zi-]ga-an-(na-)ḫi-ta^c.az ša-an-ḫa-an-[zi]*
-

a. a single paragraph stroke appears under the signs in the second half of this line

b. space between this and the following sign

c. text: GA

28. [But] the next morning they wa[sh] her [mouth, and the uten]sils of fired clay and the utensils of wood—each of them empty—
they ta[ke]. B[ut] such utensils as are of bronz[e]—they burn [there]in.
And they are taken back.
30. [And all these things they tak]e. There is [no] incantation.
-
- § 25 [... A]nd the woman goes into that house. B[ut⁷] to/on the birth-stool?
...
32. [... in th]ose rooms she performs the *zurgi*-offering. Further, she [...] throws in [*ḫarna*]ⁱ?. And cedar, olive
34. [(and) tamarisk⁷(-woods) ...] (s)he does not pla[ce in]side.
-
- § 26 [And her own mouth she purif]ies. But how he meanwhile speaks in Hurrian—this (material is the contents of) a [sep]arate [tablet].
36. [...] and inside they cleanse. [A]nd the woman does not go forth again.
[...] (s)he [...]
-
38. [But (when) the woman gives birth, and whi]le the seventh day (after
§ 27 birth) is passing—then the *mala*(-offering) of the new-born on that seventh day
they perform. And if a male child has been bo[rn], in whichever [mon]th he has been born—whether one day or two days
40. [remai]n—then [from that mon]th they count off.
-
- § 28 But when the third month a[rrives], then the male child with *kunzigan-na[ḫit]* they [cl]eanse.
42. For the seers are expert with the *kunziganmaḫit*, and it t[o ... they of]fer.
-
- § 29 But if a female child is born, [then from th]at month they cou[nt] off.
But [wh]en the fourth month
44. arrives, then they clean[se] the female child with [*kunzi*]gamaḫit.
-

- ḥa-aš-ša-an-na-aš-ma ma-aḥ-ḥa-a[n EZEN ḥa-]a-ši-za ku-wa-pi nu*
 EZEN *ma-aḥ-ḥa-a[n i-en-]zi na-aš* ^{GIŠ}*kur-ta-aš i-an-za*
46. *na-aš* ^{URU}*Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-n[a nu-mu-kán] EZEN KA×U-it Ú-UL kar-ta*
na-[an] × a-pi-e-iz ú-da-an-zi
-
- ma-a-an A-NA* ^d*Hé-bat [ši-pa-an-da-an-]zi nu ki-i da-an-zi 1 MUŠEN.*
 GAL [^{NINDA}*mu-la-a-ti-iš ZÍD.DA 1/2 UP-NI*
48. 5 *NINDA.SIG* ^{MES}*Ì.GIŠ* ^{GIŠ}*[] × te-pu 1* ^{DUG}*KU-KU-UB GEŠTIN-*
y[a]-ši ul-mu-ri-ul-zi-iz(-)[]
ši-pa-an-ti nam-ma [] × šu-un-na-i [()]
-
50. *nam-ma* ^{LÚ}*AZU 2?* [GAD? *da-a-i na-aš-šu n]a-aš-ma* ^{TÓG}*GÚ.È.A na-*
aš-m[a na-aš-m]a ^{KUŠ}*NÍG.[BÀR?]*
nu-uš-ša-an E[N.SISKUR.SISKUR še-ir da-a-i A-N]A ŠA-PAL ŠU ^{U1.A}*-*
ŠU-ma-aš-ši 2 NINDA.KUR₄.R[A BA.BA.ZA UP-NI da-a-i]
52. *A-NA ŠA-PAL [GIR* ^{MES}*-ŠU-ma-aš-ši 2 NINDA.KUR₄.RA] BA.BA.ZA*
UP-NI da-a-i A-NA GÚ-ŠU-ma-aš-šj-iš-š[ša-an še-ir]
i-u^{1a}-ga-an [da-a-i] kat-ta-ma-aš-ši-iš-ša-an 2 ^{SI}*Gki-iš-ri-iš[*
54. 2 *tar-pa-l[a-aš da-a-i nu-za-a]* ^{LÚ}*AZU iš-ki-ša-aš še-ir e-ša-ri*
iš-× []
ša-× [nu-uš-š]a-an la-ak-ša-iš KÙ.BABBAR TUR
KI.LAL-ŠU 1 tar-na-qš[
56. *pa-aš-k[án-za?*] × *a-wa-an kat-ta da-a-i [()]*
-
- [*nu-uš-ši* ^{LÚ}*AZU te-iz-zi?* *zi-ik-wa-a]z A-NA* ^d*Hé-bat GEMÉ ki-iš-ta-at*
nu-wa-aš-ši-za GEMÉ[
58. [*n]u-wa É iš-ḥi-ú-ul ša-ak-la-in-na pa-aḥ-ši [()]*
 [*A-N]A DINGIR* ^{LIM}*UŠ-GI-EN ku-i-ta ku-it ME-*
EL-QÉ-TUM na-at [pa-a-i?]
60. [()] *QA-TI [()]*
-
- [*-an-za ki-iš-ša-an ši-pa-an-ti 1* ^{SI}*Gki-iš-ri-iš 2*
tar-pa-la-aš[
62. [*-u]š? ZÍD.DA ŠA-A-TI 1* ^{NINDA}*mu-la-a-ti-iš*
ZÍD.DA 1/2 UP-NI 4 NINDA.SIG ^{MES}*[*
 [*Ì.]GIŠ te-pu 1* ^{DUG}*KU-KU-UB GEŠTIN-ya da-an-zi*
nu-uš-ši ^{GIŠ}*ir-ḥu-i-t[a(-)*
64. [*ši-pa-a]n-ti ku-iš na-an EN.SISKUR.SISKUR pi-ya-*
na-a-iz-zi ku-it-ši a-aš-šu × [

- § 30 But when (it is time for) [the Festival] of the Womb—(that is,) at the time when she [gi]ves birth—how they [per]form the festival—it is written up as a *kurta*-tablet.
46. And it is (from) Kizzuwatna. [And I] do not know the festival orally by heart, but (rather) they will bring [it] ... from there.
-
- § 31 When they [make off]ering to Ḫebat, then these things they take: one duck, [... N] *mulati*-[loaves] of one-half handful of flour (each),
48. five thin loaves, oil, a wooden [...] a little, and one jug of wine [...] ... (s)he offers. Further [...] (s)he fills.
-
50. Further, the seer [takes] two⁷ [pieces of cloth²—either ...] or a shirt, or
- § 32 [... o]r a cur[tain⁷],
and [over the offerant he places (them)]. But under her hands [he places] two thick loaves [of one handful of pap (each)].
52. [But] below [her feet, two thick loaves] of one handful of pap (each) he places. But [on] her neck
a yoke [... he places]. Under it two *kišri* [...]
54. two *tarpa*[la of ...-colored wool² he places. And] the seer sits down on (her) back. [...]
- ... [... And] a small *lakšai* of silver—its weight (is) one *tarna*—[...]
56. is stu[ck² ...] he takes away.
-
- § 33 [And the seer says to her:⁷ “You] have become the maidservant of Ḫebat, and of her the maidservant [you shall remain⁷!]
58. [...] and (of Ḫebat) the temple, the command and custom you shall observe!”
- [... t]o the deity she bows down—whatever (are) the materials (for the ritual), this [she gives⁷].
60.  Finished.
-
- § 34 [...] (s)he offers as follows: one *kišri*, two *tarpala* [of ...-colored wool²]
62. [...] of (one) *sūtu* of flour, one *mulati*-loaf of one-half handful of flour, four thin loaves [...]
- [...] oil, a little, and one jug of wine they take. And to him/her basket[s ...]
64. [...] whoever [perfo]rms the offering—to him the offerant pays a fee—whatever (seems) good to him/her [...]
-

Left

- edge [*ši-pa-an-d*]a-an-zi 1 MUŠEN.GAL 1 NINDA^aša-ni-wa-li-iš
 BA.B[A.ZA U]P-NI 5 NINDA.
 SIG 1 ^{GIŠ}ga¹-a-ar-ka¹ ^{GIŠ}IN-BI [()]
 2. [^DUG¹KU-KU-UB GEŠTIN-ya na-at-ši i-ya-la-a-
] NU.GÁL ku-it-ki [()]

 [A-NA] ^dHé-bat a-pa-a-at ši-pa-an-ti nam-ma PA-NI DINGIR^{LIM}
 × [] ^dHé-bat DINGIR^{MES} a-ku-
 an-na ir-ḫa-an-zi ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma-kán aš-×
 4. [-i]z⁷ pa-iz-zi^{1a} [()]

 []×-an-da-at na-aš-za DUMU.SAL EGIR-an I-NA É-ŠU [
] a-ku-an-na pa-a-i nam-ma-aš 3 BAL pí-yq-
 na-iz-zi ku-it-k[i]

 6. [ma-a-na-aš⁷ a]n-tu-wa-aḫ-ḫa-aš SIG₅-an-za ḫal-zi-ya-u-a[n-zi
 N]U.GÁL¹⁷ ku-it-ki ut-tar ma-a-na-
 an-za ḫal-zi-ya-u-an-[zi
 []×-wq-pát pí-ya-na-a-iz-zi [
]-ri-aš^{L^U}NAR-ya I-NA É-ŠU EGIR-an-pát pí-e-[en-na-i
 8. [da-]q-ī nam-ma-aš pí-ya-n[a-a-iz-zi

Commentary

KBo XVII 65 is a large one-columned tablet, containing 55 lines of text on the obverse and 64 on the reverse. The left edge was also inscribed. The tablet was broken into many fragments, some of which have previously been published individually as ABoT 21, ABoT 25 and FHG 10. Large portions of the text have been lost, and it has been necessary to make extensive restorations in order to reach an understanding of the contents.

The structure of the text is unusual—the opening paragraph of each side (§§ 1 and 17) begins: “If a woman becomes pregnant,” and §§ 9–11, 12, 16, 27–29 and 30 all specifically mention the act of birth itself. This tablet seems to contain two versions of a ritual regimen for pregnancy and post-parturition, one on each side.³⁴³ (Note, however, that the actual birth is not dealt

a. text: GI

343 Cf. here KBo XXIII 1 and duplicates (CTH 472), where a single ritual is written twice on one tablet, with very little variation between the two versions—see Otten, BiOr 8, 1951, 230, and ZA 70, 1981, 153f.

Left

edge [...] they [off]er—one duck, one *šaniwali*-loaf of pa[p ... ha]ndful, five
§ 35 thin loaves, one basket² of fruit

2. [...] and a jug of wine. And them to him/her ... [...] There is nothing.

§ 36 [...] to] Hebat these things (s)he offers. Further, before the deity [...] of
Hebat (and) the (other) gods they make the rounds in giving to drink.
But when [...]

4. [...] goes.

§ 37 [...] ... And she [takes] the female child back into her house. [And (s)he
to ...] gives to drink. Further, (s)he rewards them with three offerings,
someth[ing ...]

6. [...] If it is] a healthy human being, in order to cal[l ... Th]ere is no incan-
§ 38 tation. If in order to cal[l] him [...]

[...] (s)he pays a fee [...] And the musician of ... dri[ves] back to his
house.

8. [...] (s)he [ta]kes². Further, (s)he pa[ys a fee ...]

with in any detail.) In the first several paragraphs of each side the events and ritual activities of pregnancy are presented in chronological order, and there then follow as a sort of appendix more specific instructions for particular events within the regimen. For this practice, uncommon at Boğazköy, note the scribal remark in KUB XXXII 123 (with dup. Bo 2447) IV 42'–43' (Kümmel, FsOtten 178):

[(ŠIR^{MEŠ}-*ma-aš-ša-an*)] *ap-pi-iz-zi-ya*
[(A-NA TUP-PA^{HI.A} ŠA SISKUR *a-ni-*)]*ya-an-da*

But the songs are done as an appendix to (lit. “later”) the tablets of the ritual.

The present text probably represents a compilation of several earlier, closely related, tablets, which were in part copied exactly, without regard to the new context—note the presence of *QATI*, “finished,” in rev. 60, although four additional lines of text remain on the reverse, and at least eight more on the edge.³⁴⁴ Similarly, § 34, which can hardly be considered an independent com-

³⁴⁴ See Haas, SMEA 16, 1975, 226, for the phenomenon of the inclusion of the colophon of a previous recension within the body of a new series.

position, is enclosed by double paragraph strokes. (However, other textual material necessary for the performance of this regimen, consisting in particular of Hurrian-language incantations, has not been included here, but is to be sought on separate tablets—cf. obv. 13, 45, 46, rev. 35.)

The structure of this text may be outlined as follows:

Obv. § 1: Introduction. Purification marking entrance into the state of pregnancy.

§ 2: Prescription of cessation of sexual intercourse at beginning of seventh⁷ month.

§§ 2–4: Ceremonies in seventh month, prior to separation of expectant mother from her family.

§ 5: Separation of woman from her family.

§ 6: Dietary restrictions.

§ 7: Visits by husband.

§ 8: Preparation of materials for birth.

§ 9: Birth. Offering on seventh day following birth.

§ 10: Outing ceremony for male child three months after birth.

§ 11: Outing ceremony for female child four months after birth. (End of chronological exposition.)

§§ 12–13: Reference to parturition ritual. Prescription of avoidance of violence in period following birth.

§§ 14–16: Rituals for the DINGIR.MAH^{MES/Ḫ¹.A} (Mother-goddesses):

§ 14: Ritual for the DINGIR.MAH^{MES} at the beginning of pregnancy.

§ 15: Monthly festivals for the DINGIR.MAH^{MES} during pregnancy.

§ 16: Ritual for the DINGIR.MAH^{Ḫ¹.A} on day of birth.

Rev. § 17: Introduction.

§ 18: Prescription of cessation of sexual intercourse at end of sixth⁷ month.

§ 19: Offerings on behalf of the ritual practitioners concerned with pregnancy.

§§ 20–21: Rites involving the Black Deity.

§ 22: Expiation of impurities revealed through dreams.

§ 23: Offerings in the *šinapši*-house, involving numerous cultic personnel.

§ 24: Separation of woman from her family. Visits by husband. Purification of woman at beginning of eighth month. Preparation of materials for birth.

§§ 25–26: Entrance of woman into birth-house. Offering to birth-stool[?]. Purification of woman.

§ 27: Birth. Offerings on seventh day after birth.

§ 28: Outing ceremony for male child three months after birth.

§ 29: Outing ceremony for female child four months after birth. (End of chronological exposition.)

§ 30: Reference to parturition ritual.

§§ 31–33: Offering to Hebat, with list of materials. Ritual treatment of offerant by seer, including speech dedicating her to Hebat.

§ 34: Offering, with list of materials.

Left edge § 35: Offering, with list of materials.

§ 36: Libations to Hebat and other deities.

§ 37: Outing ceremony?

§ 38: Determination of fate of the child?

This text is definitely to be assigned to the Kizzuwatnaean group of religious texts. Beside the explicit mention of the “city of Kizzuwatna” (obv. 38, rev. 46) and the prescription of Hurrian-language incantations (obv. 13, rev. 35), this text contains numerous Hurrian offering terms and other vocabulary (note especially *kunzigannabit*, obv. 3, etc.). Similarities with the Hurro-Luwian Text H are particularly apparent in § 25.

Because of the extent of Hurrian influence evident here, this text cannot have been composed earlier than the Middle Hittite period. The alternation in the spelling of the third person singular present *-iya*-verb ending of the sequences *-Ci-iz-zi* (*pí-eš-ši-iz-zi*, obv. 11) and *-Ci-e-iz-zi* (*pí-eš-ši-e-[iz-zi]*, rev. 33),³⁴⁵ as well as the use of the archaic stem *antuwahḫa-* (edge 6)³⁴⁶ make it likely that the tablet itself is of Middle Hittite date.

This conclusion is not contradicted by an analysis of the paleography: Neither exemplar contains any sign form characteristic of the thirteenth century, and Ka displays the old form of TAR (rev. 18, 30, 54, etc.) and URU (rev. 46). Kb is shown by the younger shapes of AL (obv. 8') and IK (obv. 11') to be of somewhat later date than the main text. As far as it has been preserved, Kb shows only one significant grammatical difference from Ka—in rev. 4, Kb has *nu-kán*, while Ka obv. 34 (restored with certainty from rev. 41) has *na-aš-ta*.

In RA 45, 1951, 189–90, Laroche presents a transliteration of the greater part of the fragment originally published as FHG 10.

On the copy of KBo XVII 65 it is indicated that the relative placement of the fragments 1660/c and AnAr 8349 (ABoT 21) is uncertain. This is unfortunate because the position of 1660/c determines the width of the columns on both the obverse and the reverse. I have accepted the placement of the fragments as tentatively reconstructed by Otten in his copy, since it seems to agree well with the amount of space required for my reconstructions for the reverse.

³⁴⁵ See Carruba et al., ArOr 33, 1965, 13–14, and Neu, KZ 93, 1979, 71f.

³⁴⁶ See Neu, KZ 93, 1979, 76.

The task of recovering the text has been made somewhat easier by the fact that §§ 9–12 (obv. 27–39) are paralleled quite closely by §§ 27–30 (rev. 38–46). Other portions of the text may also be restored through internal comparison and will be remarked upon explicitly in the commentary.

obv. 1. The beginning of this line probably contained the name and possibly also the professional designation of the author of this ritual.

It is likely that either Text K itself or one of its forerunners is referred to in the library catalogue entry KBo XXII 102 obv.⁷ 8'–9':

*ma-a-an-za SAL-za ar-[ma-ab-bi
ma-ab-ba-an an-d[a*³⁴⁷

It is also probable that the author of this text was a woman, but it is impossible to discover the sex of the author from the text itself. The only actor mentioned on this side of the tablet whose profession (and thus sex) can definitely be established is a male (a seer—§ 4), but in §§ 19 ff. of the reverse a woman (possibly a midwife) plays an important role. Unfortunately for our understanding, the subjects of many verbs on this tablet have either been lost, or else were never indicated explicitly.

armab-: This verb, a denominative in *-ab-*³⁴⁸ from *arma-*, “moon,”³⁴⁹ means “make or become pregnant.” The etymology reveals the essential relationship which the Hittites, like so many other peoples, saw between pregnancy and the lunar cycle.

Standing alone, the verb indicates the action of impregnation on the part of the male. Note KUB XXXIII 120 I 31–33:

a-aš-ma-at'-ta ar-ma-ab-bu-un ^d*[M-ni-it na-ak-ki-it*
da-an-ma-at'-ta ar-ma-ab-bu-un ^{id}*A-ra-an-[z]a-bi-it Ū-UL ma-az-zu-wa-aš*
3-an-na-at'-ta ar-ma-ab-bu-un na-ak-ki-ta ^a*Ta-aš-m[i-]it*

(Anu announces to Kumarbi:) “Lo! I have made you pregnant with the noble Storm-god. Secondly, I have made you pregnant with the river Tigris, not to be borne. Thirdly, I have made you pregnant with the noble Tašmi(šu).”³⁵⁰

347 Note, however, that this catalogue text was found in the excavation debris of the Great Temple (see KBo XXII, p. X), while Text Ka was excavated in Gebäude A of the Büyükkale (see KBo XVII, p. IX).

348 See HE I² § 136.

349 See Laroche, RHA 49, 1948/49, 21, and RHR 148, 1955, 19, and Puhvel, BiOr 36, 1979, 58.

350 See Laroche, JCS 1, 1947, 210.

This is the only definite occurrence known to me of this usage.³⁵¹ More common is the construction with the reflexive particle *-za*, used of females: “make oneself pregnant” > “become pregnant.”³⁵² The best example here is provided by the present passage. Outside of this corpus, see KUB XVII 10 I 14’–15’;³⁵³

nu-za nam-ma GUD^{III.A} UDU^{III.A} DUMU.LÚ.UL^{LU} MEŠ Ú-UL ar-ma-ab-ḫa-an-zi

And cattle, sheep (and) human beings no longer conceive.

The participle *armabḫant-* is attested in Tablet II § 63* of the Hittite Laws (GUD.ÁB *ar-ma-ab-ḫa-an-ti*), at III 111:18 (*ar-ma-ab-ḫa-an-[za]*) and at XXVI 33 II 8f. (*ar-ma-ab-ḫa-an-za*) SAL-aš), while the verbal substantive *armab-ḫu(w)aš* is found in this text at obv. 6 and in Text Na rev. 2’.

Finally, the abstract *armabḫatar*, “pregnancy; propagation,”³⁵⁴ is attested in the Hittite version of CTH 314, a trilingual hymn to the Storm-god. In KUB IV 4 obv. 3 ff. this deity is addressed:

3. ... *ki-im-ma-an-ten*
4. *ar-ma-ab-ḫa-an-ni* ...
9. *e-eš-ša-a[t-ti]*³⁵⁵

The winter you crea[te] ... for propagation.

obv. 2. [*ḫar-n*]u-u-i, dat./loc.sg., has been restored through comparison with rev. 1–*ḫar-nu-u-i*, a form also found in rev. 31. In obv. 15 we find the gen.sg.? *ḫar-nu-wa-aš*. The stem of these words is *ḫarnu-*, which context shows is a by-form of *ḫarnau-*, “birth-stool.”³⁵⁶

A related word is found in obv. 49: *n=aš=kan ḫar-nu-wa-ši-aš É-aš anda ašešanzi*, “they place them in the house of the birth-stool.” A scribal error must be postulated here: on the one hand we may be dealing with a gen.sg. of the stem just discussed, with ŠI inserted by error (quasi-dittography?), i. e., read

351 Due to the fragmentary context it is impossible to evaluate with certainty in this regard the imp.3.sg. *ar-ma-ab-ḫu* in XXXVI 55 III 22’, 25’, 27’, and 29’, but line 22’, in which an acc. (^[D]*A-ra-an-za-ḫi-in*) immediately precedes the verb, indicates that *armabḫ-* should probably be understood, with HW² 323, as transitive. On this passage see also Rosenkranz, RHA 61, 1957, 105f.

352 See Güterbock, Oriens 10, 1957, 352, and Laroche, RHR 148, 1955, 19.

353 Damaged parallel passages are XXXIII 4 + I 2 and XXXIII 24 + I 12.

354 See Goetze, Hatt 92.

355 For the restoration here, see Laroche, RA 58, 1964, 73.

356 See above, pp. 102–04.

ḥar-nu-wa-(ši-)aš, but more likely we have here a defectively written Luwian genitival adjective derived from this same stem, i.e., read *ḥar-nu-wa-(aš-)ši-aš*.³⁵⁷ The meaning is essentially the same in both cases.

Obv. 1–2 a indicate that while the woman is indeed pregnant, she has not yet entered into labor.

EGIR-*pa ki-nu-wa-an* [...]: The spacing, as shown on the copy of ABoT 21, indicates that whatever signs might have been lost in the break were probably not part of the word *kinuwan*. That is, this is definitely a ppl.nom./acc.sg.n., and the restoration of the finite form *ki-nu-wa-an-[zi]* is not possible. The noun agreeing with this ppl. has either been lost in the break or else was never indicated—cf. Text Ha I 49 for the finite form *piran kinuzzi* without expressed object. In any case the sense here escapes me.

Although § 1 is roughly paralleled by § 17, there is no counterpart in the latter paragraph to obv. 2b–4.

obv. 3. *uwa-* here is phraseologic—see HE I² § 312; for *kunzigannahit*, see above, pp. 129–31. The cleansing here was apparently carried out by the expectant mother and would have marked her transition into the state of pregnancy. For rites celebrating the beginning of pregnancy, cf. below § 14. For another culture, that of modern Central Africa, see P. Erny, *Les premiers pas dans la vie de l'enfant d'Afrique noire* (Paris, 1972), pp. 86ff. Here the woman is forbidden to take any public notice of her condition before it has been recognized socially through a rite instituted by other members of her family.

obv. 5. [*ma-aḥ-ḥa-an* ITU.7³.KAM *ti-ya-a*]z-zi: For *tiya-* indicating the onset of a period of time, see Friedrich, HG 99. The month to be restored here remains uncertain—although the custom of forbidding intercourse with a pregnant woman is wide-spread, the length of time into pregnancy at which this taboo is instituted varies widely among cultures.³⁵⁸ In § 18, which is parallel to the present passage, it is seemingly stated that intercourse must cease two days before the end of the sixth month of pregnancy, which suggests the restoration ITU.7.KAM here.³⁵⁹

For (*maninkuwan*) *tiya-* as a euphemism, see Hoffner, EHGI 79, and cf. Biblical Hebrew *bō' 'el-'iššā*, “to enter unto a woman.”³⁶⁰

357 See Laroche, DLL §§ 24, 30.

358 See C.L. Ford, *A Comparative Study of Human Reproduction* (New Haven, 1945), pp. 48–49.

359 See below, p. 168.

360 See Koehler/Baumgartner, *Lexicon* 111.

For ^{LÚ}MU-ZA-ŠU employed incorrectly in a Hittite context as a nominative, cf. KUB XXX 26 I 3:

^{LÚ}MU-ZA-ŠU-ma-aš-ši A-NA NINDA KAŠ an-da ú-e-ri-ya-an-za e-eš-ta

But his spouse³⁶¹ was dependant upon him in regard to bread and beer.

obv. 6. -za is restored here with *šipant-* on analogy with the similar usage in obv. 8. The purpose of the reflexive particle here is uncertain. Goetze, JCS 23, 1970, 78, suggests that -za is employed with *šipant-* in clauses “based on nominal sentences.” This is hardly the case in obv. 8, however, and perhaps some personal interest of the subject in the action is indicated by the presence of -za here. Was the missing subject in line 6 the woman herself? For the translation “perform,” see *ibid.* 80f.

ar-ma-ab-ḫu-aš ma-a-la: “mala(-offering) of pregnancy.” mala-offerings occur in three other instances in this text—in obv. 8, in rev. 6 (“mala[-offering] of ^dApritta”), and in rev. 38 (“mala[-offering] of the new-born”). The offering-term *mala* is a Hittite *a*-stem (interpreted as pl.n.³), perhaps borrowed from Hurrian *mali*.³⁶² A connection with the obscure word *mal* is likely.³⁶³

obv. 7. *piran* (eš-) here, as well as in rev. 11 and 14, is probably not to be understood in either a spatial or a temporal sense. It seems instead to denote for that person indicated in the dative an intention or obligation to undertake an activity. Compare here semantically modern German “vorhaben” = “beabsichtigen.”

It seems that nothing has been lost in the break at the end of this line since the preverbs *piran arḫa* probably immediately preceded their verb. For *piran arḫa šipant-*, see Goetze, JCS 23, 1970, 81, with n. 32.

obv. 8. *u-zi-ya*: Haas and Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 63–64, point out that *uz(z)i* is frequently paired with *zurgi*, as in the present line. A reading BÜR-zi-ya, “in the pit,” is also possible but should be disregarded since there is no previous mention of digging. Note also that when BÜR appears as the location of offerings in Hittite texts it is usually preceded by ANA (e.g., IX 2 I 12: A-NA BÜR-uz-zi-ya, and XXX 31 III 2, 4, etc.: ANA BÜR-zi-an-za).

obv. 9. For the restoration, cf. rev. 9.³⁶⁴ The most complete treatment of the Hurrian loan word *šeḫelli-*, “purity,” is by Vieyra, RA 51, 1957, 96ff.

³⁶¹ See Otten, HTR 100, for context.

³⁶² See Haas/Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 67. The word is included here among the “Herrschaftsbegriffe.”

³⁶³ See here also Kümmel, StBoT 3, 125, for the possibly related adjective *malant-*, “kraftstrotzend.”

³⁶⁴ Another possible restoration here is [*še-ḫi-li-iš-k*]i-na pa-a-i—see above, p. 129.

obv. 10. The restoration here is suggested by *obv. 12.* For the ceremony of the purification of the mouth, see above, pp. 51f.

obv. 11f. For *ḥarnai-*, see above, pp. 102–04.

There is probably nothing missing at the end of line 11, since any restoration would interrupt the list of woods—cf. rev. 33. In both *obv. 12* and rev. 34 I have restored ^{GIŠ}*paini* on analogy with Text Ha II 22, etc., although the order in which the woods are listed would differ in the two texts.

obv. 13. Restored on analogy with rev. 35.

obv. 14. My restoration here assumes a separation of the woman from the rest of her family after this point in the pregnancy—see immediately below. Note, however, that the more usual practice seems to have been for the mother to deliver in her home. This, at least, is the impression given by Text H, in which the É.ŠÀ so often mentioned was probably the bedroom of the expectant parents. Compare the “Ritual of Papanikri,” where the birth-stool was apparently originally set up in the home of the mother, and also the “Tale of the Sun-god, the Cow, and the Fisherman” (XXIV 7) IV 45–49.³⁶⁵ Here, upon receiving a foundling whom he wishes to present to his neighbors as his own offspring, the fisherman says to his wife:

45. *ku-u-un-za DUMU-an da-a nu-kán É.ŠÀ-ni an-da i-it nu-za-kán*

46. *I-NA ^{GIŠ}NA-aš GAM še-eš-ki nu tâ[š-k]u-pa-i nu URU-aš da-pt-an-za iš-dam-ma-aš-zi*

47. *nu kiš-an me-ma-an-zi DAM ^{LÚ}ŠU.PEŠ-wa-za DUMU.NITA-an ḥa-aš-ta*

48. *nu-un-na-aš ku-iš NINDA-an ku-iš-ma-an-na-(aš) KAŠ-eš-šar ku-iš-ma-an-na-aš*

49. [^{U2}] ^{U1} *ú-da-i*

“Take this child, go into the bedroom, and (lie) down (as if to) sleep on the bed! Then cry out so that the entire city will hear! Then it will be said: ‘The wife of the fisherman has given birth to a son.’ And to us one (will bring) bread, another (will bring) beer, and another will bring oil.”

This story thus envisions birth taking place in the home. The other members of the community would undertake to provide food for the family during the period in which the mother was unable to do this comfortably herself.

ma-a-na-an-za ḥal-za-a-i-ya: For the use of the reflexive particle here, see Hoffner, JAOS 93, 1973, 522–23.

365 See Friedrich, ZA 49, 1950, 232.

obv. 15. ^É*kal-li-i[š-tar-wa-ni² an-da pa-i]z-zi*: This restoration is conjectural because the only other occurrence known to me of the building involved here³⁶⁶ also lacks the end of the word:

[n]u-wa-ad-du-uz-za ^É*kal-li-iš-tar-wa-
[hal-z]i-ya-an-zi* (XXXIII 114 I 25–26)

And you to² the *k*-house [...] they [ca]ll.

Note that in this case, as in Text K, the verb *halzai-* is found in the immediate context of the *k*-house. This accords well with an etymological connection of the designation of the building with *kalleš-*, “cry; invite.”³⁶⁷ For this latter meaning of the verb, cf. KUB XVII 5 I 5’–8’:

5’. *na-aš-ta* ^{MUŠ}*Il-lu-ya-an-k[a-an]*
6’. *ha-an-te-eš-na-az ša-ra-a kal-li-iš-ta*
7’. *ka-a-ša-wa EZEN-an i-ya-mi*
8’. *nu-wa a-da-an-na a-ku-wa-an-na e-hu*

And she invited Illuyank[a] up out of (his) hole (saying:) “I’m having a party! Come eat (and) drink!”

There is also an adverb *kallištarwanili*, which occurs only in KUB IV 3 obv. 13 and 15. The latter³⁶⁸ line reads:

kar-ša-an-za gal-liš-tar-wa-ni-li u-nu-wa-ta-r[i]

The harlot³⁶⁹ dresses herself up for a festive occasion.

Segmenting off the adverbial formant *-ili* (see HE I² § 227), we are left with a stem *kallištarwana-*,³⁷⁰ which would designate that occasion or place to which one is called or invited.³⁷¹ This is important here because, due to the break in

366 Note, however, XXXVI 25 IV 12 f.: DINGIR^{MEŠ}-uš-mu šal-li-in [U]R.MAḪ-an[/ an-da kal-li-eš-tar-wa-u], where the determinative É has perhaps been omitted.

367 See Zuntz, Scongiuri 540.

368 Obv. 13 is difficult to interpret, but in any case would not affect greatly our understanding of the word in question.

369 See Laroche, Ugar V, 783.

370 For the morphology, see already Gurney, AAA 27, 1940, 87. Note, however, that Otten apud Kümmel, UF 1, 1969, 164, questions the existence of the noun **kalliš-tar*, “invitation” (see HW¹ 95). An *n*-stem is also indicated by the noun ^{LU}*kal-li-iš-tar-wa-na-aš*, XXXVI 25 I 11, which seems to indicate a type of servant, as well as by the fragmentary KBo XXVI 111:5’: *kal-l[i]-iš-tar-wa-ni*.

371 See Kümmel, UF 1, 1969, 164, for the suggestion that **kallištarwana-* is the Hittite reading of EZEN, “festival.”

Text K, it is uncertain whether the woman goes to, or comes from the *k*-house. I suggest that this building was a type of seclusion hut to which the pregnant woman was “called” during the latter portion of her pregnancy.

obv. 17. (*a*-)*aš-ta-u-wa-ar*: This word, which is not found outside of Text K, designates a foodstuff tabooed to the pregnant woman. The common phenomenon of dietary restrictions during pregnancy is discussed by B. Ayres, “Pregnancy Magic: A Study of Food Taboos and Sex Avoidances,” in *Cross-Cultural Approaches*, ed. C.L. Ford (New Haven, 1967), pp. 111–25.

For food taboos among the Hittites, cf. KUB XXX 10 *obv. 13–14* (Güterbock, JNES 33, 1974, 325):

ši-ú-ni-mi-ma-mu ku-it šu-up-pí a-da-an-na na-at-ta a-ra na-at Ū-UL ku-uš-ša-an-ka e-du-un

nu-za tu-ik-kam-ma-an na-at-ta pa-ap-ra-ab-bu-un

That which is sacred to my god, (and thus) not proper for me to eat—that I never ate and (thus) I did not defile my body.

tap-pí-i[n?]: This aliment is probably to be identified with the *tappi*-employed in a medical context at XLIV 61 rev. 20' and treated ritually at XX 70 VI 4 ff.—see Burde, StBoT 19, 23–24.

obv. 18. For ZÄ.AḪ.LI^(SAR), see Hoffner, AlHeth 110–11. The normal connotation of this plant is one of desolation—it is sown upon the ruins of destroyed cities and is associated with abandoned fields—and its significance for the diet of the pregnant woman is unclear.

It seems that the woman is allowed domestic (“of the garden”) cress while other cress is tabooed. It is uncertain whether two different varieties of the same plant are referred to here, or whether the woman is to eat only vegetables grown under (ritually?) controlled circumstances.³⁷²

Note that the prohibitive statements in this paragraph employ the simple indicative of the verb *ed-* (*e-iz-za-zî*), while the iterative form *az-zi-ki-iz-zi* is found in the concessive statement in *obv. 18*. The break in *obv. 19* has been restored accordingly. The sense of this line is that what the woman may not eat is to be consumed by her husband.

obv. 20. The verb as it stands in Ka is *wa-ar-pu-un*, “I washed,” which makes little sense in this context, but [*wa-a*]r-pa-an-[*za*] in Kb *obv. 4'* shows that a participle was intended here.

372. SAR-[*aš Z*]Ä.AḪ.LI here is to be contrasted to (NUMUN) ZÄ.AḪ.LI^{Ḫ¹.A} *gi-im-r[a-aš]*, “(seed) of cress of the fie[ld],” in XXXVII 1 *obv. 35* (Hittite in Akkadian context—see Köcher, AfO 16, 1952/53, 47 ff.).

šu-up-pa here and in rev. 24 is to be understood as an adverb, similar to *šu-up-pa-ya*³⁷³ in KUB XIV 8 rev. 44':

*na-at-ša-ma-aš šu-up-pa-ya*³⁷⁴ *še-eš¹-k[(i-iš-kán-zi)]*³⁷⁵

And they will sleep long² (and) purely on these things (i.e., during an incubation oracle).

obv. 21 ff. The import of these lines is that while the husband might visit his wife during her absence from the household, if he should take a meal in her presence, the two must eat from separate vessels and at separate tables.

obv. 24–26. Rev. 28–30 present a rough parallel to these lines. In Ka *obv. 25* there is room for about six more signs than are required by the restoration [(da-an-na-ra-an-da d)a-an-z]i, yet Kb *obv. 9'* clearly reads [(bu-u-m)]a-an GIBILTM da-an-na-ra-an-da d[a-an-z(i)], with nothing intervening between these words. Perhaps there was originally an adverb in Ka which was not present in Kb.

This paragraph deals with the preparation of the materials for the actual birth—note that the similar passage in § 24 also immediately precedes the mention of delivery.³⁷⁶ Brand-new (GIBILTM) equipment is to be employed and metal utensils are to be purified through burning (of aromatics³).

For ^{GIS}*baššalli-*, “stool,” see above, pp. 25 f.

obv. 28. In Ka there appears to be room for about eight more signs than would be required by a simple restoration [(ma-a-la a-pí-e-d)a-ni U]D.7.KAM, based upon the sequence of words clearly visible in Kb and in Ka § 27. Perhaps the text of Ka § 9 originally contained another Hurrian offering term.

Here we encounter a ceremony performed on the seventh day after birth. In many cultures rituals are carried out for an infant several days after he or she is born. The Hebrew boy was circumcised on the eighth day (cf. Lev. 12:3), and in ancient Greece the *amphidromia* ceremony in which a child was repeatedly carried around the house of his parents was performed on the seventh day.³⁷⁷

373 See HW¹ 199 and Winkels, Diss 76 ff.

374 The duplicates XIV 11 IV 18' and XIV 10 IV 13' both read *šu-up-pa* here.

375 Restoration from XIV 10 IV 14'.

376 For the ritual treatment of personal furnishings, cf. Text H § 13'.

377 See L. Deubner, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* nF 95, 1952, 374–77. J. Morgenstern, *Rites of Birth, Marriage, Death and Kindred Occasions among the Semites* (New York, 1973), p. 8, notes that among the Yezidis of early twentieth-century Iraq, baptism was performed for a child on the seventh day after birth.

The social import of this type of ceremony is shown by the fact that after a child had undergone the *amphidromia*, he or she could no longer be disposed of through exposure.³⁷⁸ That is, this rite marked both the acceptance of the child into the family and entrance into a state of social personhood. Note also that the ceremony would take place after the child had survived the period immediately following birth, a time which would have been extremely dangerous in a culture without modern medical and hygienic knowledge—a “sign” of sorts would be given by the dropping off of the remains of the umbilical cord (if it had not been completely removed by those officiating at the delivery), an event which normally occurs five to seven days after birth.

obv. 29. In this line the Middle prs.3.sg. *mi-i-ya-ri* is twice restored, although the parallel § 27 (rev. 39) employs the prt. *mi-ya-ti*. This is because later, in the section dealing with the female child, Kb rev. 4 has *mi-i-ya-ri*, and the sparse traces at the end of this verb in Kb *obv.* 29 (first occurrence) resemble [R]I more than [T]I.

obv. 30. § 27 (rev. 39–40) reads *našta* UD.1.KAM *našma* UD.2.KAM [*ašša*]*n-za*. Here in § 9 all that is actually preserved is [UD.]3.KAM, which could be emended to [UD.]2¹.KAM. This is unimportant, however, since we are not dealing with the indication of an exact period of time. What is being stated is that in the calculation of the three- or (four-)month period which must elapse before the purification of the child, one should not take into account the exact day of birth, but should rather round off to the nearest month.

Kb presents a problem in this instance since UD.1.KAM stands isolated in *obv.* 16'. Its position, with significant space available to either side, seems to indicate that it was the last word of the paragraph. Also, in Ka *obv.* 30 difficulties are encountered. Between [UD.]3.KAM and *a-aš-ša-an-za* there is a break with room for about eight signs. This space would presumably have been inscribed, since nowhere else on this tablet, as far as can be determined, is the entire last word of the paragraph set off to the right. However, it is difficult to find a suitable restoration here.

The use of *aššanza* here indicates that in this text *šiwatt-*, a noun of variable gender (see HW¹ 195), is of common gender.

obv. 31. [(*kap-p*)]*u-u-uš-kán-du*: The verb *kappuwai-* occurs in this text in an identical context six times—here, and at Ka *obv.* 34, rev. 40 and 43, Kb rev. 1 and 5—and only here is it certainly in the imperative mood. Ka rev. 40 and Kb rev. 5, the only other instances in which the end of the word has been pre-

378 See Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. J. Hastings (Edinburgh, 1910), II, 648–49.

served, both read *kappuškani*, “they shall count off.” Accordingly, I have emended DU to ZI¹, yielding the indicative mood here also.

A slight difference between the two exemplars of the text is to be noted here: Ka employs the sentence-particle *-ašta* with *kappuwai-* (rev. 40), while Kb uses *-kan* (rev. 5). Also, the unusual plene spelling of *kappuwai-* attested in Ka (obv. 31, rev. 40 and 43) is nowhere employed in Kb.

obv. 32. Kb rev. 2 has]-*tā ku-un-zi-ga-na-ḫi-ta-az*, but a comparison with the parallel passage on the rev. of Ka (line 41) shows that TA is to be emended here to UŠ¹, i.e., NITA¹.

obv. 33. Kb rev. 3 has ^{LÚ.(MES)}HAL, but the parallel § 28 (Ka rev. 42) reads ^{LÚ.MES}AZU. Since the terms AZU and HAL are synonymous at Boğazköy,³⁷⁹ this presents no significant problem, but it seems best to employ the same logogram throughout one tablet—therefore ^{LÚ.MES}AZU has been restored here.

(-za) *šak-* should be understood here in the sense of “be proficient in, practice”—cf. from the “Proclamation of Telepinu,” KUB XI 1 IV 23’–24’:

[*ku-i*]š-*za ḫa-aš-ša-an-na-an iš-tar-na al-wa-an-za-tar ša-ak-ki šu-me-e-ša'-an*
[*ḫa*]-*aš-š[a-an-]na-an-za e-ip-ten na-an A-NA KÁ É.GAL ú-wa-te-it-ten*

[Whoso]ever in the (royal) family should practice sorcery, you, the (royal) [f]am[il]y, seize him and deliver him to the gate of the palace!

Clearly more than a passing acquaintance with the subject of sorcery is envisioned here. Note also KUB XXII 61 I 14’–19’ (Burde, StBoT 19, 4):

14’. *Ú pa-ri-ya-u-wa-an-za ku-it DUMU.SAL ‘Na-a-ya*
15’. *‘Me-[m]i-ya-aš nam-ma-ya* ^{LÚ.MES}A.ZU *ku-it še-ik-kán-z[i]*
16’. *nu* ^{Ú¹.A} *ku-it me-ig-ga-ya na-at-za a-ri-ya-mi*
17’. *ku-it-mu* ^ÚSI×SÁ-ri ^{LÚ.MES}A.ZU-ya *a-ri-ya-mi*
18’. *ku-iš-mu* ^{LÚ}A.ZU SI×SÁ-ri *nu-kán* ^ÚA-NA ⁴UTU^{š1}
19’. ŠÀ IGI¹.A *a-pa-a-at* ^𐎶*pa-ar-ri-it-ti*

Whatever plant in addition² the daughter of Naya (i.e.,) Memiya, and further the physicians utilize—because there are many plants, I will make an oracular inquiry about them. Whatever plant is recommended to me by the oracle—I will also make an oracular inquiry concerning the physicians—such a physician as is (also) recommended to me by the oracle shall rub that plant in the eyes of My Majesty.

379 This equivalence is challenged by Kammenhuber, THeth 7, 134–36, but the evidence of this text, as well as that adduced by Otten, ZA 54, 1961, 147, supports it nonetheless. See also Güterbock, FsLaroche, 140, and Gurney, Aspects, 45, n. 6.

-za *šak*- here must designate a professional competence of the physicians with the various medicinal plants. This is the same situation as in Text K.³⁸⁰

The restorations in the second break in obv. 33 are drawn from rev. 42. -at is to be interpreted as the nom./acc.sg.n. enclitic pronoun, and must refer to the *kunzigannaḫit* and serve as the object of *šipandanzi*. This indicates that the cleansing material was offered to some deity after having been used to purify the child. Although it seems unlikely that any deity would have welcomed such a gift, there is no alternative to this interpretation. The possibility of taking -at as the nom.pl.c. enclitic pronoun, referring to the seers and serving as the subject of *šipandanzi*, is ruled out by the presence of [ap]e here, denoting the practitioners. In any case, the break presumably contained the name of the deity to whom the offering was made.

obv. 35. *ma-ab-ḫa-an-ma* rather than *nu ma-ab-ḫa-an* as in Kb rev. 5 has been restored here because the former construction is employed in the parallel § 29, also in Ka (rev. 43). I[TU.4.KAM] has been restored from the same line of the reverse.

A comparison with the preceding line 32, as well as with the parallel rev. 44, shows that the accusative *ku-un-zi-ga-(an-)na-ḫi-ti* of both Ka and Kb here is an error for the grammatically correct abl./inst.

§§ 10–11 probably deal with an “outing ceremony” by which the child is both purified and presented to the community.³⁸¹ (This latter aspect is not stated explicitly here, but may be assumed through a comparison with the analogous Christian sacrament of baptism, which normally takes place before the assembled religious community to which the parents belong.) After this ceremony, both the mother and child would (re-)enter into normal relations with the rest of their community.³⁸² The longer period which must elapse after the birth of a female child before this purification may be performed is analogous to the situation described in Lev. 12:1–5. Here we learn that while a woman is extremely impure for seven days after the birth of a male child and must undergo a purificatory process lasting 33 days, the mother of a female

380 Note also that the ppl. *šekkant*- seems to mean “educated, trained.” This is the conclusion to be drawn from the lexical list KBo I 42, where *Ú-UL še-ik-kán-za* (= *Á.NU.GÁL* = [LA-A] I-ŠA-A-NU) (I 11') stands in implied contrast to *wá-tar-na-ab-ḫa-an-za* (= *Á.GÁL* = [LE-E-Ú]) (I 3').

381 For such ceremonies, see *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. J. Hastings (Edinburgh, 1910), II, 640ff.

382 Cf. also the European Christian custom of “the churching of women,” which usually takes place forty days after delivery—see *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15th ed. (Chicago, 1974), “Macropaedia,” vol. 6, pp. 1127b–28a.

child is very impure for two weeks and does not escape her impurity totally until 66 days have passed. Many other examples, from the most divergent cultures, of a similar differentiation of the lengths of the ritual periods of time applicable to male and female children could be cited.³⁸³

At this point in this tablet the chronological exposition of the regimen of pregnancy, birth and post-parturition has been completed.

obv. 37. To the rite mentioned here, cf. EZEN *ḫa-aš-ša-an-na-a[š]*, Text Ya II 4'.

That *ḫa-aš-ši* here is an error for *ḫa-a-ši*, "she gives birth," is shown by a comparison with the parallel rev. 45, which has [*ḫa-*]*a-ši=za*.

obv. 38. [(*n*)*a-aš* ^{GIŠ}*kur-ta-aš i-y*]*a-an-za*: The referent of the enclitic subject pronoun here, as well as in the next phrase and in line 39, is the ritual.³⁸⁴

The majority of the currently known attestations of ^{GIŠ}*kurta-* are found in KUB XLII 100:

ŠA ^mNIR.GÁL ^{GIŠ}*kur-ta-za* 12 EZEN × [(I 17')

From the *k.* of Muwatalli, twelve festivals[

[*nu*? ŠA A-BI³⁸⁵] A-BI ^dUTU ^{ŠT}^{GIŠ}*kur-ta-za* 1 EZEN GIBIL 1 EZEN *ḫar-pa-aš*
(III 22'–23')

[And?] from the *k.* [of the grand]father of His Majesty, the New Festival (and) the Festival of the Harvest[

[I]Š-TU A-BI A-BI ^dUTU ^{ŠT}^{GIŠ}*gur-ta-za* DINGIR^{ME}[š (IV 10')

And from the grandfather of His Majesty, from the *k.*, the god[š

ḫal-ki-iš ^{URU}*Ne-ri-ik-ki-kán an-na-al-li* ^{GIŠ}*gur-ta A-NA ŠUM-MU* DINGIR^{ME}*š*
an-da ŠUM-an i-ya-an-za (IV 33'–34')

As for the grain (deity): In Nerik on? an ancient *k.* he is recorded by name among the names of the gods.

383 An example in which the waiting period for purification is longer for a male child is found in traditional Vietnamese culture, where the mother leaves her house for the first 29 days after birth if she has borne a boy, and for 28 after delivery if the baby is a girl. See R. J. Coughlin, "Pregnancy and Birth in Vietnam," in *Southeast Asian Birth Customs*, D. V. Hart et al. (New Haven, 1965), p. 248.

384 The Hittite word hidden by the logogram EZEN is of common gender (= **kalliš-tarwana*?—see note 371)—see HW¹ 271.

385 Cf. I 20' for this restoration.

What may be drawn from these passages is 1) that the *kurta*- was a wooden object and 2) that it was the source of various festivals. In this connection note Bo 3289:

- 9'.]× I-NA É TUP-PA-aš
10'.]× KAR-u-en
12'.]gur-da-za

which, although damaged, suggests that the *kurta*- was the source for that which was found (KAR-u-en) in the scribal school (É TUP-PA-aš). Compare here Bo 3968:1':]× × an-na-la-za tup-pi-za KAR-u-en, which suggests an approximate equivalence of *kurta*- and *annala-tuppi*-, "old (clay) tablet." This relationship is clarified through an examination of KUB XXXVIII 19 + IBoT II 102 rev. 4'-5':³⁸⁶

[k]a-ru-ú-li-ya-za-at³⁸⁷-kán G^{IS}.HUR gur-da[-za ... ?]
ar-ḥa gul-aš-ša-an-za

From the ancient wooden *kurta*-tablet it is [...?] written up.

k/gurt/da- is here provided with a more specific determinative than in the preceding instances, namely with G^{IS}.HUR, "wooden tablet."³⁸⁸ Therefore *kurta*- must designate a particular type of this writing material, and in Bo 3289, be only functionally equivalent to *tuppi*- in Bo 3968. Another type of wooden tablet is the G^{IS}.HUR *gulzatar*-G^{IS}.HUR *gul-za-tar* (240/r IV? 7') and G^{IS}.HUR *gul-za-at-ta-na-az* (KBo XI 1 obv. 41³⁸⁹).³⁹⁰ An etymological connection with G^{IS}/G¹ *kurtal*(li)-, a type of container, is possible.³⁹¹

^{URU}Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-na appears here in the undeclined stem-form. Since the Sumerogram KUR is not present, perhaps we are dealing with the capital city

386 A final attestation of G^{IS} *kurta*-, Bo 3295 III 7':]× ku-iš G^{IS} *gur-da-aš*, is of little help here, although it should be noted that *gul-ša-an* follows in line 9'.

387 Since the following participle is of common gender, perhaps the neuter -at- here is an error for -aš-.

388 For this type of writing material in the Mesopotamian *Kulturkreis*, see Hunger, AOAT 2, 7-8.

389 Cf. obv. 21 and see Laroche, OLZ 1963, 246.

390 Cf. also G^{IS}.HUR *gul-z[a?]'*, KBo XVIII 82 obv. 9'.

391 See Otten, HTR 134. *kurta*-, "citadel," is certainly to be kept separate from the word here under discussion. See HW¹ 119 for references and secondary literature. É *kurta*-, as attested in KBo VIII 19 obv. 10 (É *gur-da-a[z?]*) and Bo 3948 II 1-2:]× É *gur-da-az* ^dTi-ti-wa-at-ti-iš /]× BI-IB-R^U ^U1.A *pa-ra-a ḥar-ki-ir* is probably also to be understood as "citadel."

of Kizzuwatna (i.e., Kummanni³⁹²), rather than with the area as a whole. For the importation of written materials concerning rituals from Kizzuwatna, cf. the colophon to KUB XXXIV 116 + :³⁹³

SAL.LUGAL ⁱ*Pu-du-ḫé-pq-aš-kán ku-wa-pí*

^mUR.MAḪ.LÚ-in GAL DUB.SAR^{MEŠ}

^{URU}*Ḫa-at-tu-ši*

A-NA ṬUP-PA^{Ḫ¹A} ^{URU}*Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-nq*

ša-an-ḫu-u-an-zi ú-e-ri-ya-at

na-aš-ta ki-e ṬUP-PA^{Ḫ¹A}

ŠA EZEN ḫi-šu-wa-a-aš

a-pí-ya UD-at

ar-ḫa a-ni-ya-at

When Puduḫepa, the queen, instructed UR.MAḪ.LÚ, the chief of the scribes, to search for the tablets of the city of Kizzuwatna in the city of Ḫattuša, he thereupon prepared these tablets of the *ḫišuwa*-festival on that day.

obv. 39. *kar-ta* is to be understood as an archaic terminative sg. of *ker*, “heart,” preserved into the later stages of the language in a frozen expression.³⁹⁴ The sentence here may be rendered literally as “And the festival is not orally (pressed³⁹⁵) to my heart,” and refers to the internalization of information. Other examples known to me of the usage without a verb are all written with the aid of a Sumerogram:

nu-kán ku-e A-WA-TE^{MEŠ} A-NA ^dUTU^{ŠT} ŠÀ-ta (VI 45 + IV 46)

nu-wa-ra-aš-mu-kán Ú-UL ŠÀ-ta (XIII 33 II 12')

nu-wa-ra-at-mu-kán Ú-UL ŠÀ-ta[(XXXI 77 III 17')

[^m“Mi-id-da]n^{an}-na-mu-u-wa ŠÀ-ta-pát e-eš-ta[(KBo IV 12 obv. 32)

Another possibility is to read *KAR-ta* = *wemiyatta*,³⁹⁶ resulting in a translation “is found orally by (i.e., near) me,” but the parallelism of obv. 39 with the passages employing the unambiguous *ŠÀ-ta*, however, speaks against this.

392 See Haas/Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 4, n. 1, for the equivalence of the phrases LUGAL^{URU} Kizzuwatna and LUGAL^{URU} Kummanni. On Kizzuwatna in general, see Kümmel, RIA V, 627–31.

393 Quoted by Otten, BiOr 8, 1951, 225.

394 For other examples of this phenomenon, see Oettinger, StBoT 22, 29–30.

395 The ellipsed verb here is probably *šai-*, as in XLVIII 99: 3': *a-aš-ša ^dPi-ir-wa kar-ta ša-a[-it']*.

396 For the Passive prs.3.sg. ending *-ta* with *wemiy-*, cf. KBo XVIII 50 obv. 11: *ú-e-mi-ya-at-ta*.

Obv. 38–39 are not part of the text itself, but constitute rather a scribal “marginal note,” a fact which explains the anomalous appearance of the first person singular verb in line 39. Such remarks, while rare in texts from Boğazköy, are not otherwise unknown. Note, for example, KUB XXX 57 + 59 I 5’–7’, a passage from a library catalogue:

[D]UB.1.KAM A-WA-AT ^t*Du-un-na-wi-ya* [^{SA}]^LŠU.GI
 [m]*a-a-an ak-kán-ta-an mu-u-ga-mi* Ú-[U]L QA-TI
 [E]GIR-iz-zi-ma-aš-ši TUP-PU *na-a-wi ú-e-mi-ya-u-en*

First tablet. The word of Tunnawiya, the Old Woman: “When I Invoke the Dead” – Incomplete; we have not yet found its last tablet.

And KUB XXXVII 1, an Akkadian-language medical text copied as a school exercise at Hattuša,³⁹⁷ contains a Hittite gloss in obv. 9:

KI.MIN ^{GIŠ}ERIN ^{GIŠ}*ša-la-bi-ta* *ku-u-un* ^{GIŠ}ŠA-LA-B[I-]TA Ú-UL I-DI

Likewise, cedar (and) *šalabita*-wood – I do not know this *šalabita*-wood.

The scribe of one of the forerunners³⁹⁸ to KBo XVII 65 has in these lines indicated that he was unable to provide details of this particular festival, since it was foreign and he had not committed it to memory.³⁹⁹ Rather, it was necessary for him to wait until the material (in the form of a *kurta*-tablet⁴⁰⁰) had been imported⁴⁰⁰ from Kizzuwatna.

obv. 40ff. This paragraph apparently imposes a ban on violence and conflict in the period immediately following the birth, a measure which anthropology suggests would have been taken in order to prevent the contamination of the new-born by the evil influences stirred up by such activities.⁴⁰¹ The scope of the group covered by such a ban is not stated here, but was certainly the family of the parents, in a narrower or wider sense.

obv. 40. For the Passive of *karp-* meaning “be completed,” see Neu, StBoT 5, 80–81. If this refers to the “Festival of Birth” mentioned in § 12, then the two paragraphs must be considered a single “appendix” to the regimen.

397 Cf. Köcher, AfO 16, 1952/53, 47–48.

398 See above, pp. 146–48. That this note is present on both sides of the tablet provides support for my analysis of the structure of this text.

399 Note the uncertainty of the Hittites as to how they were to treat foreign deities (specifically those of Aḫḫiyawa and Lazpa) in V 6 II 57–64.

400 By himself personally, as here (*up-pa-aḫ-ḫi*), or by others, as in rev. 46 and Kb rev. 10 (*ú-da-an-zi*).

401 See N. Fock, “South American Birth Customs in Theory and Practice,” Folk 2, 1960, 51–69.

obv. 41. *wa-aš-du-la-an-zi=ya* is prs.3.sg. of *wašdulai-*, a verb not listed in HW¹. It cannot be doubted, however, that it is an *-ai*-denominative⁴⁰² from *waštul*, “sin,” synonymous with the more common *wašta-*, “commit sin.” Similarly, *za-ab-ḥa-an-zi=ya* in the previous line can only be a form of *zab-ḥa(i)-*, while the normal stem for “fight” is *zabbiya-*.⁴⁰³

In the main text we have the particle of unreality *man*, while the scribe of Kb “corrected” his text to show the conjunction *mān* (rev. 13). For the occasional omission of a conjunction in conditional sentences with *man*, see HE I² § 330b.

[*k(ar-)*] *tim-mi-ya-ab-ḥi* is prs.3.sg. of *kartimmiyaḥḥ-*, “make angry.”⁴⁰⁴ For the 𒀭I-verb ending on this type of MI-verb, see HE I² § 150b 1.

obv. 42. [...] EGIR-*pa* ⟨*pa-iz-zi*⟩ *ma-ab-ḥa-an-ma*: In Kb rev. 14 *mabḥan* is immediately preceded not by EGIR-*pa*, as in Ka, but by a word ending in the ZI-sign. Before this ZI-sign there is preserved a single vertical stroke. These traces must represent the end of a verb, which I have restored as [*pa-i*] *z-zi*.⁴⁰⁵ Since it seems unsatisfactory for a clause to end in an adverb such as EGIR-*pa*—a nominal sentence is unlikely here—I have postulated a scribal error of omission in Ka.

The sense of 41b–42 is not entirely clear, but it probably deals with the undesirable consequences of a breach of the ban mentioned earlier in the paragraph.

obv. 44ff. This and the following two paragraphs constitute a unit, giving instructions as to how the *tueggaš* DINGIR.MAH^{MEŠ/ḪI.A} (“Mother-goddesses of the body”) are to be treated ritually at each stage during pregnancy. For these deities, see below, pp. 241–46.

For the tentative restoration [KASKAL-*az* *ḥu-it-ti-ya-an-z*] *i* in line 45, cf. XXX 56 III 4: *ma-a-an* NÍ.TE-*aš* DINGIR¹.406.MAH-*uš* KASKAL-*az* *ḥ[u-*.⁴⁰⁷

A comparison of the writings of the name of these deities in this text—*tu-e-ig-ga-aš* DINGIR.MAH^{MEŠ} in line 44 and A-NA DINGIR.MAH^{ḪI.A} *tu-e-ig-ga-aš* in line 47—illustrates a scribal convention by which the genitive, which

402 See Goetze, Madd 83 ff.

403 *za-ab-ḥa-it* in the fragmentary XI 1 IV 10' (BoTU 23B IV 10) is probably the prt.3.sg. of this stem, although HW¹ 257 tentatively lists it as the inst. of the noun *zabḥai-*.

404 See HW¹, 3.Erg. 18.

405 [*ú-i*] *z-zi* is equally possible.

406 For this emendation, see Laroche, Cat² 181.

407 See also the colophon to CTH 484, transliterated and translated by Haas and Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 170f.

usually precedes its noun in Hittite, is placed after a Sumerogram or Akkado-gram if this logogram is preceded by an Akkadian preposition. This was undoubtedly done in order to keep the logograms in immediate contact.

It is uncertain if *tu-e-ig-ga-aš* should be restored at the beginning of line 52, following A-NA DINGIR.MAH^{U1.A} at the end of line 51. On the one hand this restoration would result in a parallelism among § 14, § 15, and § 16, but on the other, simple A-NA DINGIR.MAH^{U1.A} appears in line 54. In any case, it is not to be doubted that the same deities are treated in § 16 as in § 14 and § 15.

obv. 47ff. This paragraph indicates that a festival is to be performed for the DINGIR.MAH^{U1.A} of the body every month⁴⁰⁸ during pregnancy—note the use of the iterative form *peškanzi* in *obv. 48*. The iterative/durative form *eššanzi* has been restored in *obv. 48* accordingly.

obv. 48. For the translation “en route” for EGIR.KASKAL,⁴⁰⁹ see already Goetze/Pedersen, MS 12 f. Although a translation “return trip” is suggested by an analysis of the Sumerogram, neither our passage nor XII 27 dealt with by Goetze and Pedersen mention a previous journey.⁴¹⁰

As a technical term in augury, EGIR.KASKAL seems to denote a particular segment of the field of observation—see Archi, SMEA 16, 1975, 176.⁴¹¹ Those birds which follow the designation EGIR.KASKAL⁴¹² are not usually the same as those which precede it, leading to the conclusion that a separate part of the observation is indicated.

Is the enclitic pronoun *-aš* in both *obv. 48* and *49* to be construed as acc.pl.c., referring to the (images of the) DINGIR.MAH^{U1.A} deities? If so, these would have been placed in the room where the birth was to take place (*ḥarnu-waššiyaš É*), where they would have been at hand to carry out their duties at the moment of birth and in the determination of the fate of the new-born.

408 For EZEN ITU, “monthly festival,” see Archi, UF 5, 1973, 10, with n. 9. Note the use of the ppl. *armawanza* to indicate the state of pregnancy, while the finite form *armahhi* (*obv. 1, 44, rev. 1*) indicates the act of becoming pregnant.

409 Neither this ideogram nor its presumed Akkadian reading **arkat ḥarrāni(m)* appears in either the CAD (sub *arkatu* or *ḥarrānu*) or in the AHW (sub *ḥarrānu(m)*).

410 In this regard note XXXII 130:20ff., where EGIR.KASKAL is employed in the description of the return of (an image of) Šaušga to Šamuha—see Lebrun, Šamuha 168, where EGIR.KASKAL is rendered as “en retour.”

411 Archi’s translation “dietro la strada” is simply mechanical.

412 The position of the sentence-particle in a passage like IBoT I 32 *obv. 27*: EGIR.KASKAL^M 2 *ḥa-aš-da-pi-uš-kán* EGIR UGU SIG₅-za *ú-e-ir* shows that EGIR.KASKAL in the oracles stands outside of the syntax as a sort of “subheading.”

obv. 52. Perhaps the break at the beginning of this line contained the names of additional deities for whom the festival was to be performed—cf. below, obv. 54–55. The fact that the EZEN *ḥa-ša-an-ta-(ra-)al-li-ya-aš* is to be celebrated on the day of birth supports the surmise that *ḥašantalliyaš* should be connected etymologically with *ḥaš-*, “give birth.” *ḥašantalliyaš* is probably the gen.sg. of a stem *ḥašantalli-*, which I analyse as a combination of *ḥaššant-*, “the one born,” and the Luwian suffix *-alli*.⁴¹³ *ḥašantalli-* would then be literally “that pertaining to the one born,” and EZEN *ḥašantalliyaš* may therefore be most conveniently translated as “Festival of Birth.”

obv. 53. For *arḥa iya-*, “complete, execute,” see Zuntz, Ortsadv 38, and Köcher, AfO 16, 1952/53, 56.

Although *apezza* may have had a referant in the broken portion of this line, a translation “according to that model,” involving an elipsis of some sort is also possible—cf. KUB XL 25:7’–8’:

T]UP-PA^{U1A} ŠA A-BI A-B[I⁴UTUŠI
]a-[p]i-iz-za ar-ḥa i-y[a-⁴¹⁴

obv. 54. For *Ḥebat* in this birth context, see below, p. 173.

obv. 55. For choice in the amount of an offering, cf. rev. 64 and VAT 7448 II 14:

NINDA-ya ma-ši-wa-an A-NA^{LÚ}SANGA a-aš-šu nu a-pí-e-ni-eš-ša-an pa-a-i

And as much bread as (seems) good to the priest—thus he gives.

In Text K it is uncertain whether EN.SISKUR.SISKUR, “offerant,” refers to the woman or to her husband. That the Sumerogram EN.SISKUR(.SISKUR) was unmarked for sex in the Boğazköy tablets is evident from several passages:

KUB XXXIX 73:12’–13’:

EN.SISKUR-ma ma-a-an LUGAL-uš ...
... ma-a-an-ma SAL.LUGAL-ma ...

The offerant, if it is the king ...
but if it is the queen ...

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3. nu-za ma-a-an EN.SISKUR.SISKUR LÚ ...
6. ma-a-an EN.SISKUR.SISKUR SAL-ma

⁴¹³ See Laroche, DLL § 30.2.

⁴¹⁴ Cf. also KBo XXI 44 rev. 12’–14’.

and KBo XIV 133 III 9':

ŠA EN.SISKUR A-NA ^{LÚ}MU-DI-ŠU

Note also the absence of a logogram *NIN.SISKUR(.SISKUR) at Boğazköy.

In rev. 51 ff. of this tablet, EN.SISKUR.SISKUR certainly refers to the expectant mother, since the "offerant" in that instance is treated quite extensively. Also, this "offerant" is probably the subject of the speech in § 33, which definitely applies only to a woman. But in obv. 55 and rev. 64, where the EN.SISKUR.SISKUR is responsible for expenditures, we may well be dealing with the husband.

rev. 3. Due to the ambiguity of Hittite usage of the Sumerogram ITU.N.KAM, ITU.6.KAM UD.2.KAM *aššanzi* here could also be translated "(when) six months (and) two days remain," indicating a much earlier cessation of intercourse. This measure would be less justified biologically than a taboo beginning at the seventh month. Note also that the ceremonies introduced in the parallel § 2 and described in §§ 3–4 last exactly two days, indicating that in any case the time required for the ritual is included in the calculations.

rev. 4. Restored on the basis of obv. 5.

rev. 5 ff. *mar-ša-ya* SISKUR.SISKUR^{MEŠ}: *maršaya* is attested elsewhere only at KBo XVI 97 obv. 34, and the character of the offering cannot be established from the two passages. Judging by the context in Text K, any connection with *marša-*, "false,"⁴¹⁵ is unlikely. Presumably the most important ritual practitioners involved with the pregnancy and birth are treated in this ceremony. In addition to the ^{LÚ}AZU active in § 26,⁴¹⁶ these include the ^{SAL}.MEŠŠU.GI, who here must be the midwife and her assistants.

For the assumption of a female actor in this paragraph, see below, p. 169.

rev. 6. Apritta, not listed by Laroche, Rech, is shown to be a female deity by KBo XX 111:12': ⁴*Ap-ri-it-ta-aš* SAL.LUGAL SAL-za, "Apritta, the queen, the woman." The mention of ^{URU}*Ki-iz-zu-wa-[at-na]* in line 15' of KBo XX 111 makes a connection with this area likely, a fact which accords well with the appearance of this goddess in the present context. The only other text known to me in which Apritta is found, KBo XII 107 (rev. 5', 10'),⁴¹⁷ is also a purification ritual of Hurro-Luwian origin.

415 See Laroche, RHA 51, 1948/49, 23–25.

416 See below, p. 172.

417 With duplicate 23/g.

rev. 10. The subject of the three nom./acc.pl.n.ppls.⁴¹⁸ in this line, as well as the referant of the enclitic subject pronoun *-at*, is some building (whose designation has presumably been lost in the break at the beginning of the line), appearing in the n.pl.⁴¹⁹ This building is prepared for its cultic role through a purification consisting of the whitewashing (*haneš-*) of its walls and the sprinkling (*burnai-*) of water on its floor in order to settle the dust.⁴²⁰ It has also previously been closed off (*anda ištapp-*) to profane traffic.

rev. 11. Since [*a-pa-*]*a-aš* SAL-*za*, “that woman,” in performing the offerings here is acting in a professional capacity, it is better to understand the expression as referring to the midwife, rather than to the mother-to-be, although in all other instances in this tablet simple SAL seems to indicate the patient. Probably this woman is the actor in all of §§ 19–22.

rev. 12. For DINGIR.GI₆, see Carruba, RIA III, 355. The identity there demonstrated of the “Black Deity” with the Moon-god⁴²¹ fits well with the occurrence in this pregnancy regimen of an offering for this divine personage. For the moon in connection with birth, see above, p. 150, and below, pp. 181–83. Note also that KUB XXXII 133 deals with the transference of the cult of DINGIR.GI₆ from Kizzuwatna to Šamuḫa, the latter town being located in Ḫatti proper. This movement is parallel to that of the ritual practices detailed in this text.

rev. 14. For *šarlatta-*, “encomium(-offering⁴²²),” see Laroche, FsFriedrich 293. The form here is uninflected. Cf. *ku-uš šar-la-at-ta*, IBoT III 148 IV 48 (acc.pl. by context). For the restoration of the Hittite conjunction *-ya* in *kel-diya[=ya]* (the traces are quite slight), cf. XV 32 II 20:

ki-el-di-ya-ya 9 MUŠEN^{41A} 1 SILÁ-*ya ši-pa-an-ti*

418 Morphologically these could also be interpreted as M/P prs.3.pl., but since neither *haneš-* nor *burnai-* has M/P forms listed in StBoT 5, and since elsewhere in Text K M/P verbs have the full ending in *-ri* (e.g., *karaptari*, obv. 40; *ešari*, rev. 54), this is unlikely.

419 See below, pp. 171f.

420 Cf. XXIX 7 obv. 46 (Lebrun, Samuha 120):
nu-za wa-ar-pa-an-zi É.DINGIR^{LIM}-ya-kán hur-nu-an-zi
Then they wash themselves and besprinkle the temple.

421 Lebrun, Samuha 28–31, suggests that in some cases DINGIR.GI₆ is equivalent to *IŠTAR*/Šaušga, a deity who would also fit well into our context—see below, pp. 222f.

422 Cf. Bo 2823 III 14' (Otten, ZA 65, 1973⁴, 301): SISKUR *šar-la-at-ta*, whose duplicate IBoT III 148 IV 48 reads simply *šar-la-at-ta*.

And for well-being he sacrifices nine birds and one lamb.

keldiya itself was originally in the Hurrian *-ya*-case,⁴²³ but has been taken over into Hittite, receiving no additional inflectional ending in the process.⁴²⁴

rev. 15. The restoration [*i-ya-z*]*i* here is based upon the following line. *ma-a-aš-ši* is *mān=ši*, with assimilation (*-nš-* > *-šš-*).⁴²⁵ It is probable that nothing has been lost in the break at the end of this line, and that *kuit* is employed here for the usual indefinite relative pronoun *kuitki*—see HE I² § 253 ba.

rev. 16. The stem *kallar-* has been shown by Laroche⁴²⁶ to alternate with NU.SIG₅ and thus to designate an unfavorable quality. On the other hand, the vocabulary KBo I 30 obv. 11 provides the equivalence:

LÚ.NÍG.GAL.GAL = *lu-ni-in-gal-gal* = ŠA AT-RA-A-TI = *kal-la-ra-at-te-eš*

suggesting that another aspect of the semantic field of this stem is “greatness.”⁴²⁷

However, it seems most likely that what is indicated here are offerings designed to rid the woman of malignant influences,⁴²⁸ possibly those resulting from neglect of religious duties (see immediately below). For another offering receiving its designation from that which it is intended to remove, cf. SISKUR. SISKUR *papranmaš*, “offering of impurity,” KUB VII 53 IV 6.

rev. 17ff. What is involved in this paragraph is the fulfillment of such religious obligations (literally “things of the *šinapši*-house”) as should be revealed to the expectant mother in a dream,⁴²⁹ and the treatment of anything which should

423 See Haas/Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 130 ff.

424 See AOATS 3, 131. This is the second of five alternatives there listed for the handling of these Hurrian words in *-ya* borrowed into Hittite.

425 See HE I² § 36.

426 RHA 54, 1952, 24.

427 See Güterbock, JCS 21, 1967, 264–65. Here also the adjectival² form *kal-la-ra-an* is translated “(in) portentous (measure).”

428 Cf. KBo IV 2 I 17f.:

nu-kán ki-e NUMUN^{U1.A} *ma-ab-ḫa-an ki-iš-ta-ri kal-la-a-ra-ya-(ra-ya-)}kán*
ud-da-a-ar ḫa-tu-ga-u-ša MUŠEN^{U1.A} QA-TAM-MA *ki-iš-ta-ru*

(The practitioner says): “As these seeds are extinguished, so may the *kallar* words and the frightful birds likewise be destroyed!”

429 The copy clearly favors the reading *te-eš-ḫi-it* (inst.) over Kammenhuber’s (THeth 7, 40) *tešbiya* (dat./loc.). On dreams in Hittite culture, see Güterbock apud Oppenheim, *Dreams* passim; Kümmel, StBoT 3, 109–10; and Kammenhuber, op.cit. 38 ff. Cf. especially VII 5 IV 1–10, where the success or failure of a ritual against

be troubling her conscience. After these things had been taken care of, the woman would be in a favorable moral condition to undertake the dangerous experience of giving birth.

rev. 18. The restoration here is very uncertain, but space clearly requires more than a simple *ú-wa-an-[z]i*.

rev. 21. The seeming incongruity between ^{NINDA}*a-a-an-ta* and *pár-ši-ya-an*—see HW² 44f.—is to be explained as an instance where the n.pl. is employed in the attributive position—*ayanta* is actually an adjective modifying NINDA—but not in the predicate—see HE I² § 196b.

rev. 22. 1 ^{NINDA}*šq²-n[i²]-d-du*: The reading here is uncertain, and no bread of this name is included by Hoffner in AlHeth.

rev. 23f. For the bread *gaz(za)mi-*, see Hoffner, AlHeth 168. For the *patili*-priests, see below, pp. 235–38, and for the *katra*-women, see above, pp. 106–08.

rev. 25. For ^É*arzana-*, “inn,” see Güterbock, JCS 10, 1956, 90, n.a, and Hoffner, FsGüterbock 113–21. However, I cannot agree with Hoffner’s interpretation (ibid. 114–15) of ^É*ar-za-na-aš* in this instance as gen.sg. Admittedly the present passage is ambiguous due to the presence of É, which may be interpreted as either a determinative or as a logogram, but this is not the case in KBo IV 2 I 24–26, where a tallow dog is addressed:

nu-wa-kán UD.KAM-az ma-aḫ-ḫa-an
da-ma-a-in an-tu-uḫ-ša-an pár-na-aš an-da Ú-UL tar-na-ši
ki-e-ti-ma-wa-kán GI₆-an-ti kal-la-ar ut-tar an-da li-e tar-na-at-ti

And as by day you do not admit a stranger into the house, (likewise) tonight may you not admit an evil matter!

No *regens* is present here for *pár-na-aš*, and the form must therefore be interpreted as dat./loc.pl.

Compare also Text K rev. 31: *a-pí-e-da-aš pár-na-aš*, where only one building is meant, and Güterbock, XIX^e RAI 308, where it is pointed out that ^É*ḫalentuwa-*, “palace?,” usually appears in the plural.

Thus the designations of single buildings in Hittite could in some instances be declined as plurals, probably because the buildings themselves consisted of a number of rooms. A similar situation is encountered in regard to certain

impotence is determined by whether or not the patient experiences an erotic dream involving a goddess.

pieces of furniture. Note the use of the dat./loc.pl. in the phrase [GİŠ]ar-pa-aš e-ša-at,⁴³⁰ “he sat on the bolster,” and in XXX 15 I 9 (Otten, HTR 66):

ma-a-an SAL-za-ma na-at-ša-an GİŠ₂ha-ap-ša-li-ya-aš⁴³¹ ti-an-zi

But if it is a woman, then they place them (the bones of the deceased) on the stool.⁴³²

Other pieces of furniture are attested at Boğazköy as occurring in sets:⁴³³ 1^{NU-TUM} GİŠNÁ, “one bed outfit” (XVII 14 IV 3), 2 TA-PAL^{DUG}GİR.GÁN ZABAR, “two sets of ...-containers of bronze” (XXIX 4 I 23) and 1^{NU-TIM} GİŠki-iš-bi-ta, “one chair/throne” (XXIX 4 I 28, 29), a fact which also points to their being conceived of as a collection of component parts.⁴³⁴

rev. 26. [e-iz-za-zi²]: Conjecturally restored from context and from comparison with obv. 23, although it should be noted that if the regimen of birth and pregnancy outlined on the reverse is identical to that of the obverse, it would have been generally forbidden for the woman to eat in the presence of her husband (cf. § 6).

rev. 28. Note the lack of congruence between *human* (nom./acc.sg.n.) and *dannarandan* (acc.sg.c.).

rev. 29. *da-aš-ki-i[t]-ta-ri*: This unique Passive iter. form of *da-*, “take,” has already been noted by Neu, StBoT 5, 160. For the restoration in the break, cf. the similar obv. 25.

rev. 32. *zu-úr-ki-ta-a-iz-zi* is a verbal derivative of the Hurrian offering term *zurgi*—see Otten, StBoT 15, 13, and Haas/Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 64.

rev. 33 ff. For the restorations here, cf. obv. 11 ff. On analogy with those lines, the subject here is probably also the seer.

rev. 35. It is uncertain whether the paragraph stroke visible under the second half of this line was merely poorly drawn or whether it represents an error, only partially corrected by the scribe. For convenience I have ignored it in the numbering of the paragraphs.

rev. 39. The use of the sentence-particle *-ašta* here with [*a-aš-ša-*]an-za in the following line is unusual; the parallel obv. 29 employs *-kan*.

430 XXXIII 19 III 1'—cf. also XXXIII 21 III 2'.

431 Incorrectly listed in HW¹ 55 as gen.sg.

432 Cf. XXX 24 II 16 (Otten, HTR 60) and XXXIX 14 IV 7–8 (ibid. 82).

433 *IŠTENŪTU* and *TĀPALU*—the terms are roughly synonymous—see Goetze, ZA 40, 1931, 79–80; Speiser, JAOS 74, 1954, 25; and Kronasser, SchwGoth 42–43.

434 See also above, p. 110.

rev. 43. [*na-aš-ta a-p*]-*i-e-iz*: *na-aš-ta* has been restored in the break here on analogy with *-ašta kappuwai-* in rev. 40.

rev. 47ff. In §§ 31–33 we find instructions for an offering ceremony dedicated to Hebat. Just when within the course of the preceding regimen this offering was to take place is not stated. The materials listed here are not mentioned previously in the text.

A basic element in the character of Hebat is that of the Mother-goddess.⁴³⁵ Note in this regard her association with the DINGIR.MAH^{H1.A} in obv. 54 here. The speech in § 33 ties the offerant closely to Hebat as her maidservant, thus establishing a relationship which would be of particular importance if the goddess is seen as especially concerned with reproduction.

It would be interesting to know if rev. 58, which speaks of the observing by the offerant of the “temple, command, and custom” (É *išhiul šaklain=a*) of Hebat refers to actual service in the cultic establishment or whether this is simply an admonition to the expectant mother to comport herself in a religiously correct manner.

Another question which presents itself is whether only a woman who had given birth could be such a “maidservant of Hebat.”

rev. 47. ^{NINDA}*mulati-* is discussed by Hoffner, *AlHeth* 172–73, where it is pointed out that the usual amount of flour employed in the preparation of such a loaf is one-half *UPNU*, as is the case here.

rev. 48. *ulmuriulziz*], unattested elsewhere, perhaps involves the Hurrian adjective *ulmi*—see Laroche, *GLH* 280.

rev. 50. ^{KUŠ}NÍG.[BÀR]: Restoration uncertain, but another example of a ^{KUŠ}NÍG.BÀR in a list of ritual equipment is found at KUB XXIX 4 II 4. (Note that two *tarpala-* and one ^{slG}*kišri-*, objects also mentioned in this text, are listed in the line immediately preceding.)

rev. 51f. These lines have been mutually restored. For bread made from BA.BA.ZA, “pap, porridge,” see Hoffner, *AlHeth* 193.

rev. 53f. The copy shows *ú-i-ga-an(-)*, but since no Hittite word so beginning is known, it seems best to postulate a scribal error by which the first two signs of the word were interchanged.⁴³⁶ *yugan*, “yoke,” fits well here both as a reasonable object to be set on the neck of a person and as a symbol of the subjugation described in the speech recorded in the next paragraph.

435 See Danmanville, *RIA* IV, 326–29, especially 326. See also already Gelb, *HS* 106–07.

436 For such errors, see Sommer, *OLZ* 1953, 17.

Laroche, RHA 76, 1965, 43–44, supports Sommer and Ehelolf⁴³⁷ in translating ^{sfg}*kišri-* as “glove.” This rendering had been challenged by Goetze,⁴³⁸ as well as by Friedrich.⁴³⁹ Laroche stresses that this word has a variant nom.sg. *kiššariš* (KBo VII I 8), from which the normal form *kišri-* must be considered a syncopation. The fuller stem is practically identical to the Hittite word for “hand,” *kišsar-*,⁴⁴⁰ and Laroche claims that this provides confirmation of Sommer and Ehelolf’s early interpretation. However, at the same time, Laroche points out that ^{sfg}*kišri-* is attested only in Kizzuwatnaean texts, and he even suggests that the *i* theme vowel is a Luwianism. But since the Luwian word for “hand” is *iššari-*,⁴⁴¹ lacking the initial stop, it is highly questionable that ^{sfg}*kiššari-/kišri-* signifies “glove.” In addition, it should be noted that none of the actual textual occurrences of this word demands this interpretation.

rev. 54. Although not usually provided with the determinative ^{sfg}*SÍG*, a *tarpala-* is a woolen product,⁴⁴² found in association with ^{sfg}*kišri-* also below, rev. 61, and in the “Ritual of Papanikri” II 25. *tarpala-* is usually accompanied by a designation of the color of the wool from which it is fashioned—cf. the line just cited.

rev. 55. *la-ak-sa-iš*: This word is attested elsewhere only at Bo 6976 IV (or VI?) 8': [^{sfg}*SÍG*] SA₅ ^{sfg}*SÍG* ZA.GIN *la-ak-ša-i[-]*), which suggests that it designates an implement employed in connection with wool. If the next line in Text K indeed begins with a form of *pašk-*, “stick,” then we may perhaps be dealing here with a knitting needle or the like. At any rate, the *lakšai-* was a small object, weighing relatively little.⁴⁴³

rev. 57. To GEMÉ *ki-iš-ta-at* cf. XXII 70 rev. 65 (Ünal, THeth 6, 98): DINGIR^{LUM} GEMÉ-*iš-wa-at-ta*, “o god, I am your maidservant!”

left edge. Two large inscribed portions of the left edge of the tablet have been preserved, with a piece large enough to hold 15–18 signs lost between them. The extreme left and right ends of the edge surface have also been broken off. It is not possible to determine how close to the top of the tablet the inscription

437 Pap 34.

438 Tunn 89.

439 HW¹ 111, and 1.Erg. 10.

440 For the *i*-vowel in the first syllable, see Otten/Souček, StBoT 8, 48.

441 See Laroche, DLL 52–53.

442 See Carruba, RA 59, 1965, 78–79. Werner, FsBöhl 394, suggests a translation “‘Schärpe’ oder dergleichen,” without explanation.

443 See Carruba, StBoT 2, 11, n. 5, for the equivalence of a loaf made of 1/2 UPNI (“handful”) of grain to one weighing 1 *tarna-*.

on the edge began. The left edge of its preserved portion is situated opposite rev. 15, or approximately one-fourth of the way down the tablet. The present right edge (of the edge) is at about rev. 57, but from context it appears that very little has been lost at this end.

edge 1ff. It is possible that §§ 35–38 are to be taken as a unit, providing additional details of the “outing ceremony” (cf. obv. §§ 9–11, rev. §§ 27–29).

1 NINDA^ša-ni-wa-li-iš: Hoffner, AlHeth 179, lists no other occurrences of this type of bread.

1 ^{GIŠ}ga-a-ar-ka^r1 ^{GIŠ}IN-BI: cf. KBo XV 37 III 50–53:

50. EGIR-ŠU-ma 2 ^{GIŠ}ga-ar-ka^r444 IN-BI

51. ŠA NINDA.LÀL ^hu-u-ma-an-ta-za

52. tar-na-za ^ha-an-da-a-an

53. na-at PA-NI DINGIR ^{LIM}da-a-i

Thereafter, two *garkar* of fruit (are) prepared with each *tarna* of honey-cake, and he places them before the deity.

Note also KBo XXIV 40 obv. 9': 1 ^{GIŠ}ga-ar-ka^r IN-BI; KBo XXIV 70 I 18: g)a-ar-ka^r ^{GIŠ}IN-BI; 445 and Bo 6004 I 11': 1 ^{GIŠ}ga-ar-ka^r NINDA.LÀL ^{GIŠ}IN-BI. 446 From these contexts it is clear that ^{GIŠ}garkar indicates a type of wooden container, 447 and if KBo XIII 164 IV 5: ^{GIŠ}kar-]ga-ra-ya¹ AD.KID is correctly restored as a plural of this word, a *garkar* could be made of reed as well and was probably a sort of basket.

edge 5. If the -za in this clause indicates a personal involvement in the action on the part of the subject, then this subject is probably the mother of the child.

edge 6. [... ma-a-na-aš[?] a]n-tu-wa-a^h-^ha-aš SIG₅-an-za: cf. Text C § 4, where the fitness of the new-born is determined immediately after delivery. Here, however, we are probably dealing with an occasion several months after birth.

edge 7. [...]ri-aš ^{LÚ}NAR-ya: This is the only mention of a musician on the entire tablet. [...]ri-aš is probably the end of a genitive modifying ^{LÚ}NAR.

444 Duplicate XXV 40 IV¹ 4':]^{GIŠ}ga-ar-ka^r.

445 Ibid. I 5:]× ga-ar-ka^r ^{UZ}[^U.

446 Ibid. I 3': ga-a]r-ka^r NINDA.LÀL.

447 Otten, HTR 94, n.b., suggests a comparison to ^{GIŠ}karkaralli-.

- Rev. [UM-MA[?]] 'Pit-te-i ma-a-an DUMU-an ar-ma-iz-zi
2. [ne-p]i-ša-aš-za GI₆-i wa-(aš-)ši-ya-at nu-za du^7 -wí-íp wa-aš-ši-ya-
(at) ^aXXX-aš-ma-(za) e-eš-ḥa-ni-ya wa-aš-ši-ya-(at)
[nu[?]] ŪŠ-aš KUŠ^{U₁A} pu-tal-li-it-ta nu-za ŪŠ-aš ^{G₁}KAK.Ú.TAG.GA ME-aš
nu-za ŪŠ-aš ^{G₁S}BAN ME-aš ×[?] ×[?]
4. [Š]U-za wa-ri-wa-ra-an pa-aḥ-ḥur ḥar-ta ŠU-az-ma dan-na-am-ma
GÍR^{U₁A} ḥar-ta
[n]a-aš-kán an-da-an $\text{za-al-lq-u-wa-ra i-ya-an-ni-iš nu-kán a-aš-kí-uš}$
 mu-ut-ti-ya-an-za [N]A[?] ĒL
6. ^b nu-uš-ši-kán IGI-an-da mi-e-eš-ta $\text{za-am-ma-an-ti-iš DUMU-iš ŠA}$
LÍLGULpu-ut-[]×
na-aš ḤUŠ-ri-ya-ad-da-at ú-e-ri-te-eš-ta nu-uš-ši-kán KA×U-iš ta-pu-
ša pa-ít
8. IGI^{U₁A}-wa KI.MIN (= ta-pu-ša pa-it) 9 ^{U₂U₃}ÜR^{U₁A} KI.MIN na-an-za-an
SAG[!].DU DÜ-at na-an UGU ši-ya-eš-ki[!]-iz-zi
AMA DUMU.NITA tàš-ku-pa-ít nu-uš-ša-an GAM AN-za ^aU-aš a-uš-ta
e-ni-na-wa ku-it
10. nu GIM-an UL ku-it-ki na-at da-pí-an EGIR-pa QA-TAM-MA zu^7 -
wa-iz-zi
nu-wa-kán a-pád-da-ma ku-e-da-ni-ik-kí tu₄-um-me-ni pa-a-an-du-wa
DINGIR.MAH^(MEŠ[?]) nu-uš-ši pí-rá[!]-an[!] ^{SAL.MEŠ}ŠA.ZU
12. kar-ši-kar-ši $\text{ḥar-ša-a-ni-in ME-an-(du)}$ TA KASKAL^{NI} ku-wa-ri-
in ME-an-d[u] × [-a]r[?]-di-ma [SAH]AR^{U₁A}-uš ME-an-du
tu-li-ya-aš NA₄-[an ME-]an-du ^{NA₄}pí-ru-na-aš GURUN ME-an-du
IGI[?]a-ya-aš[?] [-š]a[?]-aš[?]-wa[?] [] × [ME-a]n-du
14. TI-an NA₄-an ME-an-du na-at ku-wa-aš-ku-wa-aš-ša-an-du na-at
Ì[N]ÜN IGI-an-d[a im-mi-ya-an-du[?]]
nu-kán A-NA DUMU.NITA $\text{du-ma-an-ti-ya-la-aš an-da i-ya-an-du}$
an-na-an-ma GAM wa-a[r-pa-an-du[?]]
16. a-wa-an ar-ḥa ti-i-ya $\text{zu-un-ni-mi-iš-ti ma-an-na-i-mi-iš ki-i-ma-}$
[] × ki[?]
na-at e-eš-ta SIG₅-in pa-id-du-wa-at SIG₅-in na-at nam-ma S[AG.DU-
ŠU[?]] × me-ma-i
18. 2-ŠÚ ḥu-uk-zi

a. over erasure

b. erasure

- § 1 [Thus says?] Pittei: When (a woman) is pregnant with child—
2. [The s]ky dressed itself in black; *Šduwip*? it dressed itself. But the Moon-god dressed himself in blood-red.
[And] he cinched up? his skins of blood, and he took for himself an arrow of blood, and he took for himself a bow of blood.
4. He held blazing fire in his hand; in the (other) hand he held all the daggers.
Then he entered ..., and them, the *Šmuttiya*, in the gate ...
6. And before his eyes he was born, the mortal ...
And she became afraid; she took fright. Her mouth went to the side (i.e., ceased to function).
8. Likewise (her) eyes; likewise the nine parts of (her) body. And (s)he treated her, that is, (her) head, and pressed her repeatedly above.
The mother of the male child cried out, and the Storm-god looked down from heaven (saying:) “But what is this?”
10. And when there was nothing (i.e., no response), then all this afterwards likewise he ...
(saying:) “And we are thereby taking (evil?) from someone (i.e., so-and-so)! Let them go, the Mother-goddesses, and before her let the midwives
12. take the ointment for the head! From the road the *Škuwari* let them take! ... The [du]sts? let them take!
The ‘ston[e] of the assembly’ let them [ta]ke! The ‘fruit of the rock’ let them take! The first? ... let them [ta]ke!
14. The ‘living rock’ let them take, and let them grind them up, and let them [mix?] them with butter,
and let them treat (with the resulting ointment) the ear canals? of the male child! But the mother let them w[ash?] down!
16. (saying:) ‘Go away!’ The exorcised one? ... but these? ...”
And (as) these things were good, (so) let them go well (now)! And these things further [over? her?] h[ead?] she (the practitioner) speaks.
18. Twice she conjures.
-

19–21. These lines belong to the text presented on the obverse of this tablet—see Otten, ZA 64, 1975, 47.

22. EME^{III.A} EME^{III.A} *ku-wa-pi-wa pa-īt-te-[ni]* ^{NA4}pi-ru-ni *pal-hu-na pa-a-i-u-e-ni* A GAM AG NI
A-NA ^{NA4}KA *du-wa-ar-nu-ma-a[n-zi p]a-a-i-u-e-ni* UR.MAH GIŠ-ru-an-zi KI.MIN (= *pa-a-i-u-e-ni*)
24. UR.BAR.RA *pa-tal-ḥa-ú-na* KI.MIN *zq-qm-mq-an-ti* DUMU.NITA *la-la-u-na*¹ KI.MIN
na-at EGIR-*pa wa-aḥ-nu-zi a-aš-ma-wa-rq-[a]t ú-wa-an-zi* UH_X ^{III.A}uš
SAL^{MEŠ}-iṣ
26. *hu-u-wa-an-da-za* ^{NA4}KA-in ×[?] [d]a¹⁷-a-i GIŠ *tág-an-za* KI.MIN (= *da-a-i*) *ši-wa-al ḥar-zi*
IGI-an-*dq-za-aš-kán* *šar-ḫi-ya-at[-ta m]a²-an-ni-iš* SAL-iš SAL^Š.ZU
^{NA4}KA[?]-*ša-aš-kán* EME-an
28. *ku-e-ir¹-du ši-wa-la¹-za-an^a* IG[^{III}]^{1.A}-*wa ta-aš-wa-aḥ-ḥa-an-du*
^{GIŠ}HAŠHUR-lu-wa-an-za-ma-aš-kán
KA × UD-uš *da-an-du wa-aḥ-nu-ut* HUL-lu-uš EME-aš SAL-za EN-ŠÚ *ar-ḥa e-iz-za*
30. *ku-iš-wa-kán kī-e-da-ni* DUMU-l[i] HUL-lu [tá]k-kī-iš-iz-zi AN-iš *pal-ḥa-am-ma a-uš-du*
Kl-an *gi-nu-wa-an-da-(an)* *a-uš-d[u]* DINGIR.GAL DINGIR^L[^{IM}]
pal-pa-da-mi-in KI.MIN (= *a-uš-du*) ^UIŠTAR-an *pa-pa-ar-ta-ma*
32. *a-uš-du ŪŠ-an za-ap-pí-a[n]* KI.MIN UR.MAH-an GIŠ-ru-an-da-an
KI.MIN UR.BAR.RA *pa¹-tal-ḥa-an-dq-an* KI.MIN
MUŠ-[aš[?]] GİR^{MEŠ} KI.MIN *ku-iš-wa ku-u-un^{1b}* DUMU¹-an^a *da-wa-al-li-it-ti ku-iš-wa-aš-ṣi-kán* HUL-lu *ták-ki-eš-iz-zi*
34. *nu kī-i* EGIR-*pa wa-aḥ-nu-zi*

a. erasure follows

b. text: UŠ

19–21. (part of the text of the obverse)

22. “O tongues, o tongues, where are you goin[g]?” – “We are going to the rock for stretching out’ ...
 § 2 To flint’ for breakin[g] we are [g]oing; (to) the lion for pouncing likewise;
 24. (to) the wolf for fettering likewise; (to) the mortal for seizing’ likewise.”
 And she turns them (i.e., the tongues) back (saying:) “Lo, they are coming, the sorceresses!”
 26. The flint’ from *ṣḫuwanda* she [t]akes; the wood from the earth’? likewise. She holds the dagger’.
 She presses’ them against herself’, the ... woman, the midwife, (saying:) “May the flint’
 28. cut off (his) tongue! May they blind his eyes with the dagger’! And with the apple-wood (branch)
 may they take (away his) teeth! Turn, o evil tongue, o woman! May you eat up its lord!”
 30. “Whoever should prepare evil for this chil[d], let him see the broad heaven!
 Let him see the yawning’ earth! The great deity, the *ṣḫapadami* deity likewise! The *ṣḫapartama* Ištar
 32. let him see! A ... fate likewise! The springing lion likewise! The fettered wolf likewise!
 The feet [of] the snake likewise! (Let him see these things,) whoever gives the evil eye to’ this child, whoever prepares evil for him!”
 34. Then she turns these (tongues) back.

Commentary

This is a large one-columned tablet,⁴⁴⁸ containing two separate compositions, one on the obverse and another on the reverse. The text on the reverse is written upside-down in relation to the text on the obverse and in a smaller script.⁴⁴⁹

The obverse contains the text of a springtime festival for the goddess SAL. LUGAL⁴⁵⁰ of Katapa (CTH 520). Cf. obv. 1: [*ma-a-ar*’] A-NA ^dSAL.LUGAL

448 The join of XLIV 4 with KBo XIII 241 is pointed out by Otten, ZA 64, 1975, 47.

449 See Klengel, Introduction to KUB XLIV, V.

450 Although this logogram may represent the divine name Katalḫhi/a (Hittite thematization of the Hattic common noun for “queen”)—see Otten, StBoT 13, 46—this is

URU *Ka-a-ta-pa ha-me-eš-[bi E]ZEN GAL [i-ya-an-zi]*. Klengel⁴⁵¹ pronounces the reverse a “Schwangerschaftsritual,” but more specifically we are dealing with a parturition/post-parturition ritual here. The first paragraph of this poorly-written and difficult text is concerned with the birth itself, while the second seeks to protect the new-born from sorcery and/or curses.

That this composition is Luwian-influenced is obvious. Note, for example, that almost twenty words are preceded by Glossenkeile, and that four verbs appear in the Luwian finite conjugation: *pu-tal-li-it-ta* (rev. 3), *zu-un-ni-mi-iš-ti* (rev. 16), *za-al-li-it-ti* (rev. 20), and *da-wa-al-li-it-ti* (rev. 33), and three in the Luwian infinitival form: *pal-hu-na* (rev. 22), *pa'-tal-ha-u-na* (rev. 24), and *la-la-u-na'* (rev. 24).

This plethora of Luwianisms indicates a later text, and this impression is borne out by an analysis of grammatical and orthographic features:

1. Logograms are extremely common.⁴⁵²
2. The negative *natta* is represented by the single-sign Akkadogram *UL* (rev. 10).⁴⁵³
- and 3. The possessive pronoun is indicated by the Akkadogram *-šū* (rev. 18, 29), a feature which dates this tablet to the second half of the thirteenth century.⁴⁵⁴

An analysis of the script yields a picture which accords well with this very late dating of the tablet. Note the later forms of *LI* (rev. 3, 13, 33), *AL* (rev. 5, 33), and *ŠAR* (rev. 27).

Neither this text nor any extensive portion of it has been dealt with previously.^{454a}

rev. 1. *^tPit-te-i*: This person is not attested elsewhere, but Laroche lists under number 1035 in NH a woman *^tPit-ti-ya-*. This woman likewise appears in only one text, the divination record XXII 70 (CTH 566).⁴⁵⁵ It is likely that these

not certain in reference to the goddess of the town of Katapa—see Gurney, *Aspects* 5, n. 3.

451 Introduction to KUB XLIV, V.

452 The fact that later texts in general employ more logographic writings than earlier tablets has been well established by Kammenhuber, *BiOr* 18, 1961, 126.

453 See StBoT 16, 26f.

454 See StBoT 18, 51.

454a On this and related texts, see now Starke, *Kadmos* 19, 1980, 142–48. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to take this contribution into account fully here.

455 See Ünal, *THeth* 6, 28, who reads *Pattiya*. On pp. 51–52 Ünal concludes that XXII 70 was inscribed in the reign of Tuthaliya IV, which would accord well with my late dating of the ritual of Pittei.

two highly similar names⁴⁵⁶ refer to the same person, and in view of the damaged condition of the surface of the tablet, it is even possible that we should read *Pit-te-ya* here.

That *armai-* as well as *armahb-* (-za) indicates the condition of pregnancy was first stated by Goetze, JCS 18, 1964, 91,⁴⁵⁷ and the present context leads me to follow him in this interpretation, despite the doubts expressed by Kammenhuber, HW² 324. As stated above, p. 150, I also prefer to retain the traditional connection of this family of words to *arma-*, “moon.” DUMU-*an* must be regarded here as an accusative of respect, and although seemingly superfluous, is apparently a usual compliment to this verb.⁴⁵⁸ Note that DUMU-*an* is never found with *armahb-*, although an accusative of respect is sometimes attested,⁴⁵⁹ and in another instance we find the instrumental.⁴⁶⁰

Rev. 1 is isolated syntactically—one expects it to be followed by a statement such as “then I conjure as follows,”⁴⁶¹ or “then I take the following articles.”⁴⁶² Here the conditional clause often found at the beginning of rituals seems to have become frozen as a sort of title—note that there is a significant amount of space remaining in this line, and that the body of the text does not begin until rev. 2. This line is best paraphrased as “[The treatment of] Pittei, (for the occasion) when (a woman) is pregnant with child.”

rev. 2. [*ne-pi-ša-aš=za*]: We have here a common gender *a*-stem formed from the *š*-stem neuter *nepiš*.⁴⁶³ The acc.sg. of this stem is found at XXXIII 106 III 40,⁴⁶⁴ XXXVI 32:10, and XXXVI 55 II 32 (each time written *ne-pi-ša-an*).⁴⁶⁵

456 Laroche, NH 245, n. 18, writes: “Le -ya anatolien n’est pas fonctionnel.”

457 See also Puhvel, BiOr 36, 1979, 58, where *armai-* is explained as “be in a lunar way.”

458 Cf. the fragmentary passage from a medical text KBo XXI 20 I 27’ (StBoT 19, 44):
DUMU-*an ar-ma-iz-z[i]*.

459 E.g., XLI 8 IV 32–33 (Otten, ZA 54, 1961, 138):

nu-za e-[eš-h]ar pa-ap-ra-tar

wa-aš-túl Gl₆-iš Kl-aš ar-ma-ab-hu-u[d-du]?

And let the Dark Earth becom[e] pregnant with the b[loo]d, the impurity (and) the sin!

The form *ar-ma-ab-hu-u[d-du]* as transliterated by Otten is unexpected—the duplicate KBo X 45 IV 33 has *ar-ma-ab-du*—and indeed the copy of this text later published by Jakob-Rost does not seem to show enough space to restore both [-*du*] and [Gl]M- at the beginning of the next sentence. The text is probably not in order here.

460 XXXIII 120 I 31–33, quoted above on p. 150.

461 Cf. Text E obv. 13’.

462 Cf. Text A obv. 1.

463 On this process, see Goetze, MélPedersen 488–95.

The spelling *wa-aš-ši-ya-at* (prt.3.sg.) was probably intended for all of the verbs in this line, since the form *wa-aš-ši-ya* as it stands⁴⁶⁶ is imp.2.sg., which yields little sense here. Note in this connection the frequent omission of signs in this line.

The sky is said here to have dressed itself *GI₆-i*. This form is probably a nom./acc.sg.n.⁴⁶⁷ of *dankui-*, “black, dark.” The statement that the sky was clothed in black is simply an indication that the activity narrated took place at night—the presence of the Moon-god is thus natural. While the sky is presumably also the subject of the second *waššiya-* here, *𐎶 du²-wi-ip* (if read correctly) remains completely obscure.

The Moon-god has dressed himself *e-eš-ḫa-ni-ya*. This word is to be interpreted in parallelism with *GI₆-i* as a nom./acc.sg.n. of an otherwise unattested *ešḫaniya-*, adjective in *-iya*⁴⁶⁸ from the oblique stem of *ešḫar/ešḫan-*, “blood; bloody deed.”⁴⁶⁹ *ešḫaniya-* is basically synonymous with the more common *ešḫanuwant-*, “bloody; blood-red.”⁴⁷⁰ It is possible that some meteorological phenomenon involving the moon is alluded to here, but a comparison of the complete context (i.e., through rev. 4) with KUB IX 31 I 36–41⁴⁷¹ indicates that we are confronted by a literary *topos*:

36. [(e-)]*ḫu*^dAMAR.UTU *k[(at-ti-ti-m)]a-at-ta^dIn-na-ra-u-wa-an-ta-aš*

37. [(u-)]*wa-(an²-)du e-eš-ḫa-[(nu-wa-an-)]ta ku-e-eš ú-e-eš-ša-an-ta*

38. [(lú-)]^{MEŠ}*Lu-u-la-ḫi-ya-a[(š-ša-a)]n⁴⁷²ḫu-up-ru-uš ku-i-e-eš iš-ḫi-ya-an-ti-iš*

39. *IŠ-TU GÎR-ya-aš-ša-an [(ku-i-)]e-eš iš-ḫu-uz-zi-ya-(an-)te-eš*

40. ^{GIŠ}BAN^{Ḫ¹.A.}*aš-ša-an ku-i-[(e-eš)] ḫu-u-it-ti-ya-an-ta*

41. ^{GIŠ}KAK.Ú.TAG.GA^{Ḫ¹.A.}*ya [(ḫar-kā)]n-zi nu ú-wa-at-ten nu e-iz-za-at-ten*

464 The “Song of Ullikummi” Tablet III A III 40’. This form was listed already by Friedrich, HW¹ 150, where it is characterized as “vereinzelt.”

465 Does *ne-pi-ša-an-na-az* (XXVI 29 I 30 in a broken context) also belong here? As a neologism, *nepiša-* is obviously later in development than *nepiš-*—see the comment by Neu, FsOtten 239, on *kiššera- vis à vis kiššar*.

466 Prof. H. Klengel has collated this line and assures me that the copy is correct here.

467 For the accusative with the M./P. of *waš(š)-/weš(š)-/waššiya-*, see Neu, StBoT 5, 193, and Otten, Luv 36.

468 Cf. *išpant-*, “night”: *išpantiya-*, “nocturnal”—see HE I² § 49 c.

469 For further derivatives from this stem, see Otten, ZA 54, 1961, 143, 154.

470 For this word and its Luwian cognate *ašḫanuwant-*, see Otten, Luv 36 ff.

471 CTH 757, the “Ritual of Zarpiya.” Transliteration basically after Otten, LTU 14, with restorations from the duplicates HT 1 and XXXV 9.

472 The Luwian version of this passage (II 24) has ^d*Lu-u-la-ḫi-in-za(-)*, with the divine determinative. On this group see now Laroche, GLH 160.

Come Šanta,⁴⁷³ and let the Innarauwanteš-deities,⁴⁷⁴ who are wearing bloody garments, who are bound to the cords⁴⁷⁵ of the Lulahi, who have girded themselves with daggers, (and) who hold taut bows and arrows, come with you! Come and eat!

Since the equipment of the Innarauwanteš-deities here is practically identical to that of the Moon-god in Text L, it seems that *ešhaniya* is merely part of the costume of a terrifying deity.⁴⁷⁶ Frightfulness is not in keeping with the general character of the Hittite Moon-god, so we must assume that the deity is so clad here in preparation for the confrontation in rev. 6ff. But see below, pp. 186–88.

rev. 3. For the reading *ÚŠ-aš* = *ešhanaš* here, cf. KBo X 45 IV 10 (*ÚŠ-aš*) and its duplicate XLI 8 IV 9 (*e-eš-ḫa-na-aš*). Whether the equipment of war described here in Text L is to be understood as covered with blood, or merely red in color, as is the case with the garments in the preceding line, is uncertain.

For *putaliya-*, see Goetze, Cor.ling 56, and Holt, BiOr 15, 1958, 148–49. Since the verb is not elsewhere attested in the M./P., the form here should be interpreted as a prt.3.sg. of the Luwian conjugation.⁴⁷⁷ While the exact meaning of this verb has not yet been determined, it is clear that it often refers to the donning of military equipment. Thus in this text KUS^{H1A} probably indicates some sort of leather armor. A parallel to this passage is found in the Old Hittite ritual KBo XVII 1 I 24'–25'. Here it is stated that two wooden models of the *Ḫantašepa*-deities, which have been described previously as holding human heads and lances, are

ú-e-eš-ša-[a]n-da-ma iš-ḫar-wa-an-tu-uš TÚG^{H1A}-uš pu-ta-li-ya-[a]n-te-eš-ša⁴⁷⁸

dressed in blood-red garments and *putaliyant-*.

The copy of Text L appears to show slight traces at the end of rev. 3, but in collation Prof. H. Klengel was unable to see anything more here than appears on the copy.

473 For ^dAMAR.UTU = Šanta, see Laroche, Rech 102, and in Les syncrétismes dans les religions grecque et romaine (Paris, 1973), p. 110.

474 See Laroche, Rech 74. These deities seem to be closely connected with the concept of force.

475 This translation of *ḫupruš* has been borrowed from Gurney, Aspects 29.

476 Note the mention of the War-god in IX 34 I 26' as *iš-ḫar-wa-an-da-an* ^aU.GUR, and see Otten, Luv 37ff.

477 Cf. the Luwian prs.3.sg. *ṣpu-tal-li-it-ti*, XL 106 III 3'.

478 After Otten/Souček, StBoT 8, 20, and Neu, StBoT 25, 6.

rev. 4. For *wa-ri-wa-ra-an pa-ab-hur*, see already Sommer, KIF 1, 1930, 346, n. 1.

For *dan-na-am-ma*, “all,” cf. Luwian *tanima/i-*, *tanama/i-* (DLL 90) and Hieroglyphic Luwian *tan(a)mi-* (Meriggi, HhGl 117–18).

rev. 5. *za-al-la-u-wa-ra* is unclear. If it is related to the *zalla-* of the horse-training texts,⁴⁷⁹ perhaps it modifies the locomotion expressed in *andan iyan-nai-*.

The second half of this line is also difficult: *nu-kán a-aš-ki-uš*⁴⁸⁰ might be construed as an error for *nu=uš=kan aški*,⁴⁸¹ taking *-uš* as acc.pl.c. of the enclitic pronoun employed proleptically with *mu-ut-ti-ya-an-za* (Luw.acc.pl.c.). This word is probably identical in meaning to ^(d)*muwatti-*, which seems to denote some kind of demonic being, similar to the *annari-* and *tarpi-*.⁴⁸² Cf. XXVII 13 IV 17': ^{NA4}*hé-gur an-na-ri-in* ^{NA4}*hé-gur mu-u-wa-at-ti-in-na*. Unfortunately the last signs in this line are illegible, but it appears that the Moon-god has encountered some sort of protective deities in the gate. The relationship of the Moon-god to the following events is uncertain—see below, pp. 186–88.

rev. 6. For *mi-e-eš-ta* as Act.prt.3.sg. of *mai-/miya-*, note M.prt.1.sg. *mi-eš-ḫa-ti*, XXX 10 obv. 11⁴⁸³ and Act.dur.prs.3.sg. *mi-i-e-eš-ki-iz-zi*, XII 44 II 27, and cf. the secondary prt.3.sg. *pešta* to *pai-*, “give.”⁴⁸⁴ Here the Active must share the meaning “be born” usually expressed by the Middle.⁴⁸⁵

The identity of the person who is giving birth with such difficulty in this and the following lines is unknown—our only indication is AMA, “mother,” in rev. 9. That *za-am-ma-an-ti-iš* DUMU-*iš*, however, is the irregularly placed subject of *mi-i-eš-ta* and thus the person being born is made likely by the absence of any conjunctions and/or sentence-particles between the verb and the noun + adjective. Such placement of the subject is found in several other instances in Text L—cf. rev. 11, 25, 27.

479 See Laroche, DLL 112, with literature there cited, and Güterbock, JAOS 84, 1964, 270 f.

480 An understanding of this form as an irregular acc.pl. of *aška-* is made unlikely by the fact that this word is nowhere else attested in the plural.

481 This may be due to the very late date of this text. Cf. also rev. 27: *IGI-an-da-za-aš-kán*, where the order of the sentence enclitics violates the rule as stated in HE I² § 288.5 a.

482 See Otten/von Soden, StBoT 7, 27–32. The vocabulary edited in this volume (KBo I 44 + KBo XIII 1) equates *tarpi-* with *ŠEDU* and *annari-* with *LAMASSU* (IV 35 f.). Note that at least by Neo-Assyrian times *šedu* and *lamassu* often refer to protective figures set up in gates—see von Soden, BaghM 3, 1964, 154–56.

483 See StBoT 5, 117.

484 See HW¹ 155.

485 See above, p. 38.

In rev. 24 we find the dat./loc. ~~𐎶~~*zammanti* DUMU.NITA, which corresponds to DUMU(.LÚ).ULÚ^{LU} in obv. 12' of the parallel "B".⁴⁸⁶ Therefore it seems that ~~𐎶~~*zammanti*-DUMU(.NITA)⁴⁸⁷ is a Luwian expression for "mortal,"⁴⁸⁸ comparable to the Hittite *tantukešnaš* DUMU-aš.⁴⁸⁹ Note that DUMU-iš stands for a Luwian word here, since the Hittite lexeme is an *a*-stem⁴⁹⁰—cf. Luwian DUMU-*anni*- (DLL 119).

The end of this line is totally unclear.

rev. 7. For the reading of the initial words here, see Güterbock, FsKraus 87. The problems experienced here remind us of the attack suffered by the king in "Muršili's Aphasia,"⁴⁹¹ but in that case only the mouth is affected—KA×U-iš-ša-mu-kán ta-pu-ú-ša pa-it,⁴⁹² "in regard to me the mouth turned aside." Text L, in which other parts of the body, namely the eyes and the limbs in general, are said to *tapuša pai*-, shows that Goetze⁴⁹³ was correct in his interpretation of this expression as metaphorical, and that a specific movement (i.e., a spasm?) of the body part mentioned is not necessarily involved.

rev. 8. It is uncertain how *na-an-za-an* is to be segmented grammatically. In this late text it might be interpreted either as *n=an=za=šan*⁴⁹⁴ or as *n=an=za=an*, with pleonastic double writing of the enclitic object pronoun.

The shift to the present tense in *šiyaeskizzi* is striking. It could perhaps be explained as a use of the historical present⁴⁹⁵ to intensify the narration, or as a lapse on the part of the scribe, who confused the events in the human and divine spheres—see below, pp. 186–88. Perhaps the iterative of *šiya*-, "press," is employed in the sense of "massage" here. The subject of this verb is uncertain, although it may be the Moon-god featured in the first portion of the text.

rev. 9. For crying aloud as a characteristic action of the mother while giving birth, see above, p. 37, and cf. XXIV 7 IV 45f., quoted above on p. 154.

486 See below, p. 191.

487 The writing DUMU.NITA rather than simple DUMU in rev. 24 is probably a scribal error.

488 This observation may aid in the understanding of Luwian *zammen*—see DLL 113.

489 For example, VII 5 I 8. See Güterbock, ZA 44, 1938, 62.

490 See HW¹ 269.

491 See Goetze/Pedersen, MS.

492 Ibid., I 8–9.

493 MS 23–26. Ünal, Belleten 163, 1977, 458, with n. 64, is incorrect in taking this expression literally.

494 See Ünal, THeth 4, 167 (sub -šan).

495 See Dressler, StudverbPlur 193–94.

The activity of the Storm-god in this line serves to highlight the unusualness and the importance of the events discussed. Even a god who in the course of his duties witnesses everything in heaven and on earth is moved upon glimpsing the birth to cry out: “What is this?!” Note the similar passage in the “Song of Ullikummi” (Tablet I A IV 33’ff.) where the Sun-god discovers the existence of the stone monster, and cf. especially XXIV 7 II 53:

^dUTU-uš-kán AN-za GAM a-u[š-ta].

rev. 10. A reading *hu¹-iš¹-wa-iz-zi* here is, according to Prof. Klengel’s collation, impossible. We might read *zu-wa-iz-zi*, that is, a verb preceded by Glossenkeile, identical perhaps to *zuwai-* (see StBoT 15, 14), whose meaning is unfortunately unknown. That *zuwai-* is a verb of speech, as might be assumed from Text L, is disproven by KBo XII 89 III 8 and 17, where it has as its object *tuhhi-*, “smoke.”

rev. 11. Direct speech resumes in this line, and the speaker is presumably still the Storm-god. For the expression at the beginning of this line, see above, p. 70.

Since the imperatives in this and the following lines are without exception 3.pl., the subject nominatives must also be understood as plurals. Hence the readings DINGIR.MAH^(MES) 496 and SAL^(MES) ŠA.ZU. Because the Mother-goddesses are the subject only of the verb *pa-a-an-du=wa*, which is introductory to the entire series of imperatives, SAL^(MES) ŠA.ZU must be seen as standing in apposition to DINGIR.MAH^(MES). This explicit naming of the Mother-goddesses as midwives is hardly surprising in view of the functions which they are known to perform on both the divine and human levels.⁴⁹⁷

In fact, it is just these lines which provide the connection between the events in the mythological world and the actual birth mentioned in the “title” of this ritual (rev. 1). The Storm-god has discovered an unusual and difficult birth and seeks to remedy it by sending the Mother-goddesses to the aid of the mother. There can be no doubt that the activity of the Storm-god here in recommending various materials and procedures to the divine midwives served as an aetiological justification for the employment of the same procedures and materials on the human level.

496 A reading DINGIR.MAH^(MES) is impossible due to space considerations, according to Prof. Klengel’s collation. We are probably dealing here with a defective singular writing of DINGIR.MAH^(MES/HLA)—see below, pp. 246–47. The presence of the plural verb *pandu* shows clearly that DINGIR.MAH = H¹annaḥanna is not intended here.

497 See below, pp. 242–46.

The action described here in rev. 9–12 is paralleled by a common *topos* in Mesopotamian birth rituals, in both Sumerian and Akkadian language, referred to by van Dijk as “l’Esclave de la Lune.”⁴⁹⁸ The best preserved example is found in BAM 248 (= KAR 196), a tablet from Assur containing various materials relating to birth. The section which interests us here begins with line III 10, where the identity of the human mother with a mythological cow is established: ÉN 1-*it* ÁB *šá* “XXX GEMÉ “EN.ZU.NA *šum-šá*, “Incantation: (This) one is the cow of the Moon-god; ‘the Maidservant of Sin’ (is) her name.” A mythological narrative follows (III 11–19) in which the Moon-god spies the cow from on high and is seized with desire for her. He has intercourse with the cow, and then, we read:

20. UD^{MEŠ} *šá* AŠ *qu-ut-ti-i ár-ḫi-šá* AŠ *ga-ma-ri*

21. ÁB *ig-ta-lit i¹499-ga-al-lit*

...

23. DIŠ *ik-ki-li-šá* DIŠ *ri-gim ḫa-li-šá ip¹-pal-sah* “NANNA-*ru*

24. “XXX AŠ AN-*e iš-tam-me ri-gim-šá iš-ši qa-as-su šá-ma-me*

25. 2 “LAMÁ^{MEŠ} AN-*e ú-ri-da-nim-ma*

(When) her days (of pregnancy) were at an end, (when) her months were completed, the cow quaked violently. The Moon-god crouched down at her cry of woe, at the noise she made in parturition. The Moon-god in heaven heard her noise, he lifted high his hand. Two protective deities of heaven went down (to her) ...

The next lines (III 25–32) describe the anointing of the cow with the “water of parturition” (*mē ḫāli*)⁵⁰⁰ and the successful birth. Then the section draws to a close with the lines:

ki-ma GEMÉ “EN.ZU.NA *i-šá-riš i-li-da*

li-li-id ár-da-tu₄ mu-šap-šiq-tu₄ (III 33–34)

As “the Maidservant of Sin” gave birth correctly, (so) let the distressed maid give birth!

which corresponds to rev. 17 of the Hittite Text L—see below, pp. 190f.

498 See Ebeling, *Archiv für die Geschichte der Medizin* 14, 1923, 65–78; Böhl, *JEOL* 4, 1936, 202ff.; Meier, *ZA* 45, 1939, 198; Lambert, *AS* 16, 284–85, and *Iraq* 31, 1969, 34ff.; and especially van Dijk, *Or ns* 41, 1972, 339–48, *Or ns* 42, 1973, 502–07, and *Or ns* 44, 1975, 52–79. Cf. now also Farber, *ZA* 71, 1981, 56 (no. c.26).

499 Text: *ú-*, but cf. the dup. AMT 67, 1 III 11: *ig-da-lit i-ga-al-lit*.

500 For the “water of purification,” see Goetze, *JCS* 9, 1955, 15f.

Lambert⁵⁰¹ evaluates the “Maid-servant of Sin” *topos* as follows: “The relevance of the tale for a woman in childbirth is quite clear: since Sin sent down divine messengers with ‘water of birth-pangs’ and oil for use with the troubled cow, this guarantees the validity of the same treatment for later, human, cases of trouble in childbirth.”

As we have seen, this is exactly the relationship between mythological material and the real-life situation in the Hittite text. The structures of the Mesopotamian and the Hittite pieces are also quite comparable. Note that in both we find: 1) the crying out of the mother in childbirth, 2) the recognition by a celestial deity of this distressed state, and 3) the dispatching by this deity of divine aid. This close similarity between the two suggests that the Hittite text might have been derived from a Mesopotamian forerunner⁵⁰²—either directly (in this regard it is significant that one of the fragmentary examples of the Akkadian text was found at Boğazköy: IV 13 1’–12’ [CTH 810]), or through a Luwian intermediary.⁵⁰³

In light of the role of the Moon-god in the Mesopotamian texts, the question now presents itself as to whether his poorly understood activity in rev. 2–6 of Text L is not somehow a corruption of his impregnation of the mythological counterpart of the human mother. Perhaps his outfitting himself as a warrior was originally meant to stress his masculinity in this connection⁵⁰⁴ and was later misunderstood literally as a preparation for battle.

rev. 12. Laroche, RA 48, 1954, 46, suggests that ^{UZU}*karši-* and its reduplicated form *karšikarši-* indicate a type of fat. Such a substance is fitting in a context of birth, where it could be employed in the massaging of the mother. Note as a parallel to this passage KUB IX 34 III 43–44:

an-da-ma-an-kán a-uš-ta DINGIR.MAH-aš nu-uš-ma-aš-ša-an pí-ra-an
[*k*]ar-ši-kar-ši-ya-za iš-ki-it

But *Ḫannaḫanna* inspected her?, and before them she rubbed with *k*.

The Luwian word for “head” is *ḫarmaḫi-*,⁵⁰⁵ but *ḫduwarnumanzi* in rev. 23 and *ḫpatalḫandan* in rev. 32 show that in this text Hittite words may

501 Iraq 31, 1969, 35.

502 Although the Akkadian tablet featured in this discussion is Neo-Assyrian in date, other examples of the *topos* are much older. For example, the text dealt with by Lambert in Iraq 31 is Middle Assyrian.

503 Note also the *amt yrḫ* at Ugarit—see Dahoud apud van Dijk, Or ns 41, 1972, 340.

504 For bow and arrows as symbols of the male role, see Hoffner, JBL 85, 1966, 330ff.

505 See Otten, Luv 74–75, and Laroche, DLL 42.

appear with Glossenkeile. Since no other examples of a Luwian stem *ḫaršani-* are found in DLL, we may assume a Hittite lexeme here. While the usual Hittite stem is *ḫaršan-*,⁵⁰⁶ a nominative form *ḫar-ša-ni-iš*⁵⁰⁷ is found at XXXIII 66 II 17.⁵⁰⁸ *ḫar-ša-a-ni-in* in Text L is the accusative of this stem, here employed adverbially.

rev. 13. Does ^{NA4}*pi-ru-na-aš* GURUN, literally “fruit of the rock,” designate a crystal?

rev. 14. While the grinding of ingredients does not seem to occur with great frequency in Hittite medical contexts,⁵⁰⁹ it is found also in Text P II 6 and is quite common in Mesopotamian medicine.⁵¹⁰

The restoration [*im-mi-ya-an-du*] is of course conjectural; for *immiya-* in a medical context, cf. KBo XXI 20 rev. 17':

[] × ⁵¹¹ *an-da* ⁵¹² *im-me-ya-ši na*[-

rev. 15. Although the traces of the first two signs in the word as shown in the copy are difficult to interpret, the photo (of Bo 551) shows that *du-ma-an-ti-ya-la-aš* is to be read here. This word, Hittite dat./loc.pl. in case, is a derivative of Luwian *tumman-*, “ear,”⁵¹³ and indicates some part of the ear. Hoffner has identified a verb *tumanti-*, “hear, listen” (KBo XXII 254 rev. 12': *tu-u-*

506 See Goetze, JAOS 57, 1937, 111.

507 If correctly read. The damaged line may also perhaps be read as *ḫar-ša-ni-iš-ši*[- × (-) - cf. *tu-ik-ki-iš-ši* in II 16'.

508 The context here (II 16'–20') deals with parts of the body, and indeed with features of the head (except perhaps for *wa-a-lu-la-aš-ša-aš*, 18', which is unattested elsewhere). Therefore there can be little doubt that *ḫaršani-* means “head.” Note also the occasional complementation of SAG.DU as an *i*-stem (SAG.DU-*iš*, IX 4 I 22; SAG.DU-*in*, KBo III 21 II 28). I thus disagree with Oettinger, StBoT 22, 47, n. 112, on the question of the existence of a stem *ḫaršani-*, “head.”

509 *kuškuš-* appears only twice in the index to the medical texts edited by Burde in StBoT 19 (p. 66), and in both contexts there listed indicates the preparation of an ingredient for inclusion in a potion, rather than in a salve as in Text L.

510 Note with special reference to our “prescription” the statement on stones in Mesopotamian medicine by Ritter, AS 16, 309: “Whereas the *āšipu* uses stones qua stones as inherently of magical value for amulets, the *asū* treats them as he does other drugs, crushing them and compounding them into various remedies.”

511 The traces exclude a reading IGL.

512 Contra the transliteration of Burde, StBoT 19, 44, there is probably nothing missing between this and the following word.

513 See Laroche, DLL 99.

ma-an-ti-in-ta, Luw.prt.3.pl.),⁵¹⁴ of which our *tumantiyala-* is an instrumental noun. The context here, which may be rendered literally as “May they perform a treatment (with the salve prepared previously) in (*anda*) the *𐎶d*. in regard to the male child!,” favors a translation “ear canals” over “ear lobes” or “ridges of the ears.” A cleansing of the facial orifices of the new-born is certainly indicated—cf. the washing of the mouth (KA×U *šanḫ-*) in Text C obv. 13.

Similarly, the mother herself is washed in order to remove the debris of birth—blood, lochia, etc. My restoration is not certain, but likely. *wa-a[r-ša-an-du]*, “[let them] w[ipe off],” should also be considered.

rev. 16. The unexpressed⁵¹⁵ subject of the imperative *awan arḫa tiya* is probably some evil or undesirable quality which had become attached to the mother and/or child during birth.⁵¹⁶ Prescribed to the divine midwives on the mythological level, this phrase would presumably actually have been spoken by the human ritual practitioner(s) during the cleansing mentioned in rev. 15. *𐎶zu-un-ni-mi-iš-ti* is a Luwian verb of unknown meaning, prs.3.sg., while its subject *𐎶ma-an-na-i-mi-iš* is to be analysed as the nom.sg.ppl.⁵¹⁷ of the Luwian verb *manna(i)-*. The meaning of this verb is also uncertain,⁵¹⁸ but Otten has suggested that it may lie in the realm of exorcism.⁵¹⁹ We still do not have enough material to settle this question, but a signification “exorcised one,” referring to either the subject or the object of the action, would fit well at the conclusion of an incantation, as in Text L. In any case, with the end of rev. 16 we seemingly come to the close of the speech of the Storm-god begun in rev. 9.

rev. 17. In this line is found explicit statement of the connection between the previous mythological events and the current birth—just as the archetypical event came to a good conclusion, may this birth likewise be successful.⁵²⁰ For a similar passage in Luwian, cf. KUB XXXV 103 rev. 6f.:⁵²¹

514 BiOr 33, 1976, 337.

515 It is unlikely that there was room for a subject for this verb at the end of rev. 15.

516 Cf. Text D § 5’.

517 The nom.pl. of this ppl. is found at KBo XX 107 + KBo XXIII 50 II 23’: *ma-an-na-a-im-mi-in-zi*, and the acc.pl. *ma-an-na-a-im-mi-in-z[a]* in III 32’ of the same text. (In HW² 355 the entry “*arutamannaimmi-*” should be deleted since it arose through a mis-segmentation of these lines.)

518 See DLL 67.

519 Luv 31f.

520 To *pai-*, “go,” with SIG₅-in, cf. XIV 14 obv. 30: *nu-uš-ši KUR^{URU} Ḫat-ti ḫu-u-ma-an pi-ra-an SIG₅-in i-ya-an-ni-eš*, translated by Goetze, JCS 14, 1960, 72, as “in his time the whole Hittite land walked in well-being.”

521 See below, p. 228, and Meriggi, WZKM 53, 1957, 197.

... *pa-aš pu-ú-wa*
[ku-w)a-ti a-aš-ta na-nu-un-ḥa-aš a-pa-ti a-aš-du

And as she was formerly, so let her be now!

pa-id-du-wa-at: Admittedly the sub-division of the discourse in this section of the text is uncertain, but since there is no quotational particle in the immediately preceding *na-at e-eš-ta* SIG₅-*in*, we must segment here simply *paid-du*=(*u*)*at*, and understand *-wa-* not as *-wa(r)-*, but as a glide between *u* and *a*.⁵²²

rev. 22ff. The second paragraph of this text consists of three incantations, each followed by the same physical magical operation, namely the partial rotation of (model) tongue(s).⁵²³ This is expressed fully only in the speech in rev. 29: *wa-aḥ-nu-ut ḪUL-lu-uš* EME-*aš*, but there can be little doubt that the same action is indicated by the narrative *na-at* EGIR-*pa wa-aḥ-nu-zi* (rev. 25) and *nu ki-i* EGIR-*pa wa-aḥ-nu-zi* (rev. 34). The first magical act (comprising both incantation and physical operation) runs from rev. 22 through rev. 25, the second from rev. 26 through rev. 29, and the third from rev. 30 through rev. 34.

Laroche, OLZ 1971, 148–49, has pointed out that our text, to which he assigns the siglum “A”, has certain affinities to two other Luwianizing texts, XII 62 (= “B”) and XXXV 145 (= “C”).⁵²⁴ Here a more precise description of the relationship among these texts may be given—we are dealing with Luwian-derived incantations which have been so skillfully worked into each larger ritual context that, were it not for the existence of the other texts, we would not suspect that we were confronted with stock elements. But this is indeed the case. The first incantation in “A” is matched by “B” obv. 10’–17’, rev. 1–6, the second by “C” rev. 3’–18’. The relevant portions of “B” and “C” follow here:

522 Note the identical spelling *[p]a-id-du-wa-at* in the fragmentary VII 1 III 27, where the quotative particle is also unlikely.

523 Cf., for example, VII 53 + XII 58 I 63–64:

EGIR-*an-da-ma-aš-ši-iš-ša-an* EME IM *še-ir e-ip-zi nu ŠA* EME
ḫu-uk-ma-in ḫu-uk-zi

Thereafter she lifts the clay tongue over him/her, and speaks the incantation of the tongue.

For EME^(Ḫ^{1.A}) symbolizing the potency of words spoken in anger or in sorcery, see Szabo, THeth 1, 64.

524 XVII 15 III 14’–18’ is duplicate to “C” 3’–5’.

“B” = KUB XII 62 obv. 10’–rev. 6

Obv.

- 10’. ẸME-aš EN-aš *ku-wa-pí pa-a-ši* KASKAL-ši *ka-ri-pu-wa-an-[zi pa-a-i-mi]*
 UR.MAH *tar-wa-u-wa-an-zi pa-a-i-mi a-li-li wa-ar-šu-wa-an-zi pa-a-i-mi*
- 12’. DUMU.⟨LÚ.⟩ULÜ^{LU} *la-la-u-wa-an-zi pa-a-i-mi* KASKAL-aš-za *ka-ri-pu-wa-an-zi Ẹ-UL*
me-im-ma-i UR.MAH-aš-za *tar-wa-u-wa-an-zi UL me-im-ma-i a-li-la-aš-za*
- 14’. *wa-ar-šu-wa-an-zi Ẹ-UL me-im-ma-i* ^dUTU-uš-za HUL-mu-uš EME^{HLA}
UL me-⟨im-⟩ma-i
-
- 16’. [a]l-ta-an-ni-iš *ar-ta an-da-na-aš-ta* GIŠ-ru *ar-ta* GAM-an-ma UR.MAH
ha-aš-ša-an-za
še-eš-zi DARÀ.MAŠ *ú-e-da-an-za še-eš-zi al-ta-an-ni-iš ha-az-za-aš-ta*
-

- Rev. *an-da-kán* GIŠ-ru *ha-az-za-aš-ta* UR.MAH-aš *ha-a-ša-an-⟨za⟩ ha-az-za-aš-ta*
2. *ú-it-ta-an-za* DARÀ.MAŠ-aš *ha-az-za-aš-ta* HUL-u-wa-aš UH_x EME *ha-za-aš-ta*
 EME EN-aš *ku-wa-pí pa-a-ši* HUR.SAG-i *a-ra-u-wa-an-zi pa-a-i-mi ha-a-ri-ya ap-pa-an-na*
4. *pa-a-i-mi* KASKAL-ši *ka-ri-pu-wa-an-zi pa-a-i-mi* HUR.SAG-aš-za *a-ra-u-wa-an-zi*
me-im-ma-i ha-ri-ya-aš-za ap-pa-a-an-na me-im-ma-i KASKAL-ša-aš-za *ka-ri-pu-wa-an-zi*
6. *me-im-ma-i* HUL-u-wa-aš-ma-za UH_x-aš EME-aš HUL-u *me-im-ma-i*
-

This incantation involves the questioning of the “lord of the tongue” (i.e., the curser/sorcerer) concerning his planned travels and his answer to this inquiry. The sense of this response is not entirely clear, but there can be little doubt that what is intended is the thwarting or destruction of the evil words. This is stated expressly in the last sentence of the first paragraph: “The Sun-god(dess) the evil tongues will not refuse,” which is paralleled in the birth rituals by the role of the Sun-goddess of the Earth in accepting undesirable qualities for disposal—cf. Text C § 12’ and Text D § 5’.

There follows a mythological interlude in which a paradisiac situation is described, a situation which is disrupted by drought. Through a chain reaction,

Obv.

- 10'. "O lord of the tongue, where are you going?"—"To the road for devour[ing I am going],
(to) the lion for pouncing⁷ I am going. To the *alili*-(bird⁷ 525) for plucking
I am going.
12'. (to) the mortal for speaking I am going." The road will not refuse
devouring.
The lion will not refuse pouncing⁷. The *alili*-(bird)
14'. will not refuse plucking. The Sun-god(dess) the evil tongues
will not refuse.

-
- 16'. There stands a spring. Therein stands a tree. Under (it) the newborn lion
sleeps, the yearling⁵²⁶ deer sleeps. (But) the spring dried up.
-

Rev. Therein the tree dried up. The newborn lion dried up.

2. The yearling deer dried up. The sorcerous tongue of evil dried up.
"O lord of the tongue, where are you going?"—"To the mountain for
restraining I am going. To the valley for seizing
4. I am going. To the road for devouring I am going." The mountain will
refuse restraining.
The valley will refuse seizing. The road will refuse devouring.
6. The sorcerous tongue of evil will refuse evil.
-

each participant in this situation is affected adversely. The final sentence in this section draws the conclusion desired in the ritual context: "The sorcerous tongue (also therefore) dried up."

Then the incantation proceeds with a slightly altered repetition of the original theme concerning the sorcerer and his travels. But this time, just as everything in the mythological universe had been negated, so is this incantation. Whereas in the first instance the verbal form was *UL memmai*, "will not refuse," here we find the positive *memmai*, "will refuse." In place of the Sun-god(dess), however, the subject of the concluding sentence in the series is now the tongue itself, which "will refuse evil." Thus grammatical parallelism is maintained, while the objective of rendering the evil words impotent is also attained.

525 HW² 59 holds a connection of this word with the oracle bird *alili*- to be possible.

526 *wettant*- is seemingly an adjectival *-ant*-formation (see HE I² § 48 b 2) from *wet*-, "year."

Obv.

- 2'. [2 *tar-pa-a-la-aš?*] S[G.S[A₅
[]-a *pár-ku-e-eš*-[
4'. [] I-NA ⁶*ši-nap*-[*ši*
[*ne-ku-u*]z *me-ḥur še-ḫi-el-l[i-iš-ki-ya?*-aš? EGIR-an-da]
6'. [tu-ḫal-z]i-in SUM-an-zi[
[] *ap-pa-an-zi nam-m*[a?
8'. [da]m¹⁷-*me-li pi-di ša*-[
IŠ-TU MUŠEN BAL-an-z[i
10'. *ši-pa-an-ta-an-zi nu* [(-)
ti-an-zi ŠA × [
12'. *ne-ku-uz m*[*e-ḥur ši-ḫi-el-li-iš-ki-ya?*-aš? EGIR-an-da]
tu-ḫal-zi-i[n SUM-an-zi
14'. [] × [

Rev. *ma-a-an SAL-za-ma ḫar-na-a-ú-i e-eš-zi nu-z*[a] × ×[

2. ITU^{UL.A}-*ya ka-ru-ú ša-ra-a ti-it-ta-nu-z*[i nu? *ma-a-an DUMU.NITA nu*
SISKUR]
I-NA ITU.3.KAM DÙ-an-zi ma-a-an DUMU.SAL-ma nu SISKUR I-
[NA ITU.4.KAM]
4. DÙ-an-zi *nu-uš-ša-an ma-a-an SISKUR.SISKUR pi-di ka-ru-ú*[
SAL^{TUM} EN.SISKUR-*ma ša-ak-ni-eš-zi nu ma-a-an DUMU^{RU} I-NA*
[ITU.4.KAM?]
6. *ka-ru-ú pa-a-an-za nu-uš-ša-an ITU.4.KAM-ya UD¹⁷.10.KAM Ú⁷[-UL⁷]*
ma-a-na-aš DUMU.SAL-ma ka-ru-ú-uš-ši ITU.4.KAM pa-a-an-za [()]
8. *nu-uš-ša-an ITU.5.KAM na-a-wi ap-pa-an-zi ma-a-na-*[
ITU.10.KAM-*ya EGIR-an pa-i-iz-zi a-pa-a-aš-ma* × ×[
10. *Ú-UL GAR-ri na-aš-ma-kán ku-it-k*[i?
[a]n-da DÙ-ri *nu a-pa-a-at*[
12. [n]a-at *Ú-UL DÙ-r*[i
[DÙ-r]i *ma-a-an-kán*[
14. [(-)a]n-da × [

575a Unpublished 543/s shows similarities to both this text and Text O—see KBo XXVII, p. IV, n. 7.

EME^{U1.A} and plural verbs in the first incantation. That is, the subject here is the tongues themselves rather than their lord.

If *palhami-*, “broad” (see below, p. 198) is indeed a ppl., as suggested by Laroche (DLL 77), then *palhuna* could be the Luwian infinitive of this stem *palha(i)-*, meaning something like “stretch out.”

The four⁷ signs at the end of this line are completely unintelligible.

rev. 23. A comparison of UR.MAH GIŠ-*ru-an-zi* here with UR.MAH *tar-wa-u-wa-an-zi* in “B” obv. 11’ yields the value *ta*_× for GIŠ—see Laroche, OLZ 1971, 148, but it is perhaps more prudent to regard this as a simple rebus writing.

For *tarwai-*, “dance; jump,” see HW¹, 1.Erg. 21.

rev. 24. For *patalhai-*, “fetter,” see Laroche, RHA 61, 1957, 127, and below, p. 209. The occurrence of UR.MAH-*an* GIŠ-*ru-an-da-an* and UR.BAR.RA *pa’-tal-ha-an-da-an* in the third incantation (rev. 32), with reference back to this and the preceding line, serves to tie together the magical activity of this paragraph.

For *zammanti* DUMU(.NITA), see above, p. 185.

la-la-u-na’, Luwian infinitive, corresponds to *la-la-u-wa-an-zi*, Hittite infinitive, in “B” obv. 12’. For Luwian *lala-*, “take,” see Laroche, DLL 61, and CHD III 25 f. In the present context the nuance is probably one of seizure, like that of Hittite *ep-* (HW¹ 41).

rev. 25. That UH_×^{U1.A}-*uš* SAL^{MEŠ}-*iš* means “sorceresses” (rather than perhaps “bewitched women”) is shown by a comparison with KUB XXI 17 I 10–11:⁵²⁸

nam-ma-mu-kán SAL^{MEŠ} UH_× EGIR UGU *te-eš-ki-it*
[*n*]u-mu UH_×-*ir*

Further, he set sorceresses upon me, and they bewitched me.

The sorceresses in Text L are simply the more substantial embodiment of the evil curses referred to as “tongues” in rev. 22. See rev. 29 where the two nominatives HUL-*lu-uš* EME-*uš* and SAL-*za* function as vocatives in apposition.

For the translation of the first part of this line and the interpretation of *ašma* as an interjection, see Puhvel, KZ 92, 1978, 105–06.

rev. 26. Here begins the second incantation. *huvand(a)-* is otherwise unknown—“wind” seems unlikely here—but probably indicates the place from which the flint⁷ is taken. The reading [*d*]a¹²-*a-i* is uncertain, but fits the context well.

528 See also Ünal, THeth 4, 30–31.

Col. I shows only the ends of several lines which extend into the space dividing the columns.

- II *e-ku-z[i*
 2'. *tu-u-ni[*
 § 1' *ni-ra-am-bi[*
 4'. 3 NINDA.SIG^{MES} *pár-š[i-ya-an-zi?*
-
- § 2' *nu DINGIR^{MES} ša-ra-a[*
 6'. *pí-da-an-zi nu bu-u-ri-y[a*
-
- § 3' *nam-ma A-NA DINGIR.MAH^{MES} me-[na-ab-ḥa-an-da?*
 8'. ^{GIŠ}*ḥu-u-wa-ši ti-it-ta-nu-wa-a[n-zi*
ḥu-u-kán-zi kat-ta-an na-aš-ma-a[š
-
- 10'. GIM-an-ma DINGIR^{MES} KÁ-aš *pí-ra-[an*
 § 4' *[a-š]ap¹-ši-ya ḥi-iš-šq-[am-mi-ši-ya*
-
- 12'. [] 2' *gaz-z[i(-)*
-
- III [] × × []
 2'. []-eš-zi *nu A?-NA?*[]
 § 6'' [] ^{LÚ}*ba-a-ti-li-iš ša-r[a?-a?*
 4'. [] *k[u-wa-pí A-NA ^{LÚ}ba-a-t[i-li-ya?*
 [] *HU]R.SAG-i ši-na-ap-ši[*
 6'. [] *q-pí-ya pí-e-da-an-z[i*
-
- § 7'' [] × AMA DUMU.NITA *pár-ku-n[u?-wa-an-zi*
 8'. [] × × × []

[*m*]^a*a²-an-ni-iš* SAL-*iš* is probably a Luwian adjective + noun syntactic unit (similar to *zammanti-* DUMU(.NITA), rev. 6, 24), in apposition to ^{SAL}ŠA. ZU. Note that in SAL-*iš* we are dealing with a Luwian stem,⁵³³ since the normal Hittite nom.sg. is SAL-*za*, which is indeed found in this text at rev. 29.

^{NA4}KA²-*ša-aš-kán* presents difficulties in that the complementation cannot be reconciled with the *i*-stem indicated by ^{NA4}KA-*in* in rev. 26. In any case, a comparison with “C” rev. 19’: [EME-Š]U²-*kán* ^{NA4}du-uš-*ki-iš* ku-ir-du suggests the equation ^{NA4}KA = ^{NA4}duš-*ki*-.⁵³⁴

rev. 28 f. ^{GIŠ}HAŠHUR-lu-wa-an-za-ma-aš-kán KA×UD-uš da-an-du: The parallel sentence in “C” rev. 18’ reads *ša-ma-lu-wa-an-za-kán* KA×UD^{U1}-uš da-an-du. Through comparison of these two lines, Laroche⁵³⁵ suggests a Hittite reading *šamaluwant-* for ^{GIŠ}HAŠHUR. However, it is evident that in our passage ^{GIŠ}HAŠHUR-luwanza must be abl.sg. in parallelism with *šiwalez=an*, rather than nom.sg. The sequence of Hittite entries in the lexical text XXVIII 8 obv. 2b–3b: ^{GIŠ}HAŠHUR.KUR.RA-ma-aš[, ^{GIŠ}ša-ma-lu-×[indeed strengthens the identification of the Sumerogram ^{GIŠ}HAŠHUR with the Hittite vocable, but does not establish the existence of the extended stem. For while the last visible sign of the entry ^{GIŠ}ša-ma-lu-×[cannot be identified with certainty,⁵³⁶ it is definitely not WA, as read by Laroche. His final example of **šamaluwant-*, ^{GIŠ}HAŠHUR-an-za in XXXIII 9 III 12’ stands in a broken context and could just as well be an abl., as in our text. Therefore, while the Hittite word standing behind ^{GIŠ}HAŠHUR is almost certainly ^{GIŠ}šamalu-,⁵³⁷ the existence of an extended form **GIŠšamaluwant-*, while certainly possible, has not yet been demonstrated.

An occurrence of ^{GIŠ}HAŠHUR in a magical context strikingly similar to our passage is found in 1308/u I 1–4:

[*nu*^N]^{A4}KA NA₄-an ^{GIŠ}HAŠHUR *har*-[*mi*
[an-]*tu-uh-ši al-wa-an-zi-ni* [^{A4}KA²
IŠ-TU ^{GIŠ}HAŠHUR KA×UD-ŠU da-a[n-du
wa-al-*ha-an-za e-eš-du* nu 9 [^{UZU}UR?

533 See DLL 124.

534 For ^{NA4}KA see also 1308/u I 1 quoted below, XXXI 147 II 27, XLI 4 II 17, III 1, 4, and KBo XXI 20 I 26. In this last passage the stone is apparently burned as an aromatic.

535 OLZ 1971, 149. His argument is summarized by Hoffner, AlHeth 114. Siegelová, StBoT 14, 26, also reckons with an extended form **GIŠHAŠHUR-luwant-* in addition to simple ^{GIŠ}HAŠHUR-lu-.

536 The copy appears to show ZU or YA.

537 Cf. the Akkadian wood name *samallu/samullu*, AHW 1020.

- I še²-[
 2'. A-N[A
-
- § 2' EGIR^{GIŠ}[
 4'. *hu-up-pa-r[i(-)*
^{GIŠ}*ha-tal^l-g[a²-*
 6'. SÍG SA₅ š[u²-
^{GIŠ}*ki-iš-du-[un[?]*
 8'. EGIR-az-ma-aš[(-)
^{GIŠ}*ki-iš-du-u[n[?]*
-
- 10'. nu A-NA DINGIR^{LIM} ZAG²[
 § 3' še-ra-aš-ša-an BULÙG[
 12'. wa-ar-du-li-i[n
 MUN NINDA.KA×UD LÀL Ì[
 14'. ^{GIŠ}ZÉ-ER-TUM^{GIŠ}s[a²-bi-in
^{GIŠ}*pár-nu-ul-li da-[a-i[?]*
 16'. pî-ra-an kat-ta-ma-pát²[
 []×-la²-aš-mu[
-
- 18'. []××[
- IV A-W[A²-AT
 2'. *ha-[a-ši*
 § 5'' na-a[n
 4'. ^{SAL}ŠA.[ZU]

The colophon of this fragment indicates that it is possibly a birth ritual—note *ha-[a-ši²]* (IV 2') and ^{SAL}ŠA.[ZU] (IV 4'). The resemblance between the ritual materials listed here in § 3' and those mentioned in § 10'' of Text F strongly suggests that this piece is related to that composition.

For DINGIR.GAL, see Kümmel, StBoT 3, 87–88. It seems that DINGIR.GAL in Text L designates a specific deity and does not simply serve as an epithet. DINGIR^{LIM} pal-pa-da-mi-in (Luwian ppl., meaning unknown) stands here in apposition. If $\text{U.GUR pal-p[a}^2\text{-da-mi-in}^2\text{]}$ in “C” rev. 11’ is correctly restored, perhaps we have here a clue to the nature of the “great deity.”⁵⁴²

rev. 32. To $\text{UŠ-an za-ap-pi-a[n]}$ here corresponds $[\text{hi-in-ga-a}]n \text{ za-ap-pi-ya-an}$ in “C” rev. 14’. The connection of the adjective *zappi(ya)-* to the verb *zap-piya-*, “drip,” and its family is uncertain.⁵⁴³

rev. 33. $\text{MUŠ[-aš}^2\text{]} \text{ GİR}^{\text{MES}}$: Cf. $[\text{MUŠ}] \text{ GİR}^{\text{MES}} \text{ ŠU}$, “C” rev. 16’.

da-wa-al-li-it-ti , Luwian prs.3.sg., is shown by its use here parallel to HUL-lu takš- to be a verb indicating the commission of an unfavorable act. This word is possibly a denominative verb derived from Luwian *tawi-*, “eye,” to be translated “eye someone, give the (evil) eye to.”

After the long series of curses in rev. 30–33 involving the verb *aušdu/* KI.MIN, the subject, originally given in rev. 30, is repeated here twice.

542 For U.GUR = Nergal = Hattic Šulinkatti = Hurrian Hešue², a god of war and pestilence, see Laroche, Rech 105, Haas, KN 73f., and Otten, Anatolia 4, 1959, 33.

543 See StBoT 5, 205f., and StBoT 7, 13f.

Text Q = 1502/u = KBo XXX 2

§ 1' [	]×-an ar-b[a ²
2'. [	]× ar-ḥa ×[
[	du-wa-ar ²]-ni-iz-zi ša-[
4'. [	]×.DAM ^{III.A} da-an-n[a-ra-an DUG.UTUL-an ²
§ 2' [	]EGIR-pa ši-i-e-iz-zi DUG.UTUL(-)
6'. [	a]r-ḥa A-NA SAG.DU-ŠU ši-[
[	ar-ḥa du-]wa-ar-ni-iz-z[i
8'. [	k]a ² -a-aš da-an-na-ra-aš DUG.UTUL-aš[
§ 3' [	-l]i-iš nu kq-a-aš ma-aḥ-ḥa-an [DUG.UTUL-aš
	ar-ḥa]
10'. [du-wa-ar-na-an-za ² ku-i-]ša	ki-e-da-ni A-NA SAL ^{TI} i-d[a ² -a-lu
[	]×na-an DINGIR ^{MES} ar-ḥa QA-TAM-MA
	du-w[a-ar-na-an-du ²
12'. [	]× ^{MES} ŠU QA-TAM-MA ti-ya-[an-du ²
§ 4' [	T ^{IM} SAL ŠA.ZU pa-ra-a e-ip-zi nq-[
14'. [	ki-iš-š]a ² -an me-ma-i ú-i-el-lu-i-kán[
[	]tu-u-ri ki-e-el-la ŠA SAL ^{TI} ḥ[u-
16'. [	t]u-u-ri
§ 5' [	]zi na-aš A-NA DINGIR ^{MES} [
18'. [	G]UNNI ne-e-a-ri[
[	d]a ² -a-ḥan ki-e-iz ×[
20'. [	]× ×[

the other side of the fragment has been lost

(traces)

2'. [And] H_{anna}hanna the so[ul[?] ...]

§ 2' let her illumin[ate ...]

4'. When a male child [... is born,]

§ 3' then let her (H_{anna}hanna) make (him) str[ong ...]

6'. When a female child [... is born,]

§ 4' then let her (H_{anna}hanna) [...]

8'. Abundanc[e ...]

§ 5' And it [...]

10'. Good conditio[n[?] ...]

Rev. Thus says[?] [...]

2'. This one pre[pares ...]

§ 9'' When the woman [begins to] w[ail],

4'. then the midwif[e conjures repeatedly].

Text P = KBo VIII 130

- II [-a]h²-ša-an MUŠ²-×[
 2. []ki-e wa-aš-ša^{UL}A da-aš-kar-ḫi-×[
 []ú-i-te-ni-it a-ku-wa-an-na[
 4. []a-pu-u-un an-tu-uḫ-ša-an wa-×[
 []^{LU}A.ZU ku-e-ir-zi na-at-ši-k[án
-
6. []×-kán-na-li²-ša šur-ki-in^a ku-wa-aš-ku-zi n[a-an
 [da-]a-i wa-kán-na pí-e-da-an ku-e-[ir-zi
 8. [-r]i² tar-na-i ḫu-uk-ki-iš-ki-iz-zi-p[át²]
-
- [-i]š-ša²?-aš ḫa-an-ti-il-za pal-za[
 10. []in-zi ma-aš-ša-ni-in-[zi
- III [] ×[
 2'. []lu-ri-e-×[
 []-šē²-la a-pa-ti gā²-[
-
- 4'. [za-a-aš-pa] u-na-at-ti-iš pu-ú-w[a ku-wa-ti a-aš-ta]
 [na-nu-]un-ḫa-aš a-pa-ti a-ya-ru qn²-[
 6'. [ḫu-uš-]ti-in-zi wa-ya-am-na ú-l[i-ip-na-aš-ša-an-za]
-
- ki-i ŠI-PÁT ma-a-an SAL-za ar-ma-[iz-zi²
 8'. a-uš-zi na-an ^{LU}A.ZU ki-iš-ša-[an ḫu-ik-zi²]

Commentary

In the Introduction to KBo VIII Otten identifies this text as a “Luwische Beschwörung eines Arztes (im Falle einer Schwangeren).” While the fragment is not large enough to permit detailed analysis, we immediately recognize the basic structure in which quasi-medical operations (here §§ 1'–2') are accompanied by incantations (§§ 2'–3'; §§ 4'–5'⁵⁶⁷).

It is not possible to date this fragment with precision, but the absence of characteristic thirteenth-century sign-forms and the appearance of the older forms of E (II 5, 7, III 2') and TAR (II 8) as well as the UK-sign with subscript (II 8), suggest that it was inscribed in the fourteenth century.

Burde, StBoT 19, 9, has previously transliterated and translated III 7'–8', which, despite the absence of a preceding double paragraph stroke, appear to

a. this word is written above the line

567 Since the obverse represents the beginning of col. II and the reverse the end of col.

III, it is unlikely that these paragraphs are part of one and the same Luwian speech.

In §§ 3'–4' Hannaḥanna is seemingly called upon to dispense her favor to the new-born. In § 3' she is asked to make strong the baby boy, and in § 4' to bless the baby girl. Of the verb in this latter instance only the sign H̄A remains; presumably some quality appropriate to a woman is sought here.

obv. 8'. i-ya-a-t[a-(ar²)]: Plene writing of *iyata(r)*, “abundance,” is found also at XII 63 rev. 29: *i-ya-a-ta*, and KBo III 7 I 18: *i-ya-a-da*¹.

rev. 1'–4'. Do these lines, despite the internal division by a paragraph stroke, constitute the colophon of this text, or does a new ritual begin here?

rev. 3'–4'. A restoration *ma-a-an-za SAL-za ú-i-ú-[i-iš-ki-iz-zi]* is also possible, but the supine seems to be a better choice than the indicative here. For this and the restoration in 4', cf. Text B § 3'.

Commentary

Kammenhuber has classified this fragment as part of a birth ritual,⁵⁵³ and her interpretation is confirmed by the presence of *ḫarnau*-, “birth-stool,”⁵⁵⁴ in I 5'. The text is of Hurro-Luwian character,⁵⁵⁵ and it shows similarities particularly to Texts H, J, and K. The few lines which have been preserved in col. I seem to deal with the pre-parturition purification of the birth equipment,⁵⁵⁶ and possibly also with offerings on the day of birth itself.⁵⁵⁷ Col. II 8', which mentions the child (DUMU-*an*), suggests that the birth has already taken place by this point in the ritual proceedings.

Although its date of composition may, like those of the related Texts H⁵⁵⁸ and J,⁵⁵⁹ very possibly lie in the early Empire period, the use of -*ŠÚ* (I 7') to represent the third person singular possessive pronoun indicates a late thirteenth-century date for the inscription of this fragment.⁵⁶⁰

I 2'. *šakneš*- here and in Text U rev. 5 is an -*eš*-formation from the stem *šakkar/šakn(i)*-, “excrement; defilement”—see Puhvel, FsLaroche 302f.—with the meaning “become soiled.”

I 3'. ^{SAL}A-*ŠA*-ZU is a defective writing of what would appear in correct Akkadian as *aššassu*. Although “wife” is usually expressed in Hittite texts by means of the Sumerogram DAM, the occasional occurrence of the mixed logogram DAM-ZU,⁵⁶¹ next to the more usual mechanical writing DAM-*ŠU*,⁵⁶² shows that at least some of the scribes of Hittite texts at Boğazköy were aware of the Akkadian sound change -*tš*- > -*ss*-.⁵⁶³

I 4'ff. Apparently the expectant mother (SAL-*za*) here leaves her house, returning to it in I 7'f. Only the ritual treatment of the birth-stool has taken

553 THeth 7, 127, n. 216.

554 See above, pp. 102–04.

555 Note Otten's inclusion of this piece in KBo XXI under the rubric “Rituale hurritischer Provenienz” (Introduction, IV–V).

556 Cf. Text H, *passim*.

557 See below, p. 209.

558 See above, p. 98.

559 See above, p. 128.

560 See Neu, StBoT 18, 51.

561 E.g., Text Fb II 9.

562 E.g., Text Ka obv. 5.

563 See Ungnad/Matouš, Grammatik § 20 c, and HE I² § 351 b, where it is pointed out that the Hittites followed Old Babylonian scribal practice in indicating final -*su* by means of the ZU-sign.

Obv. [...] I loos[e ...]

2'. [...] And the evi[l ...]

[...] ... evil e[ye⁷ ...]

4'. [...] the evi[l] track, evil fe[tter⁷ ...]

[to the high] mountains, to the deep valley[s let him take⁷!]

6'–7' (traces)

Rev. Tablet 2. When the Old Woman

2'. with the medicine of pregnancy
anoints the child. Finished.

i-da-lu-uš EME-*aš* *i-da-lu-uš pa-tal-ḫa-aš*, and KBo XXVI 132:5': *i-da-a-l[u-un*
EME-*an* KI.MIN *i-da-a-lu-un pa-ta-al-ḫa-an* KI.MIN, and also the sequence
KBo XX 49:4':] GÌR^{ḫ1.Λ} *pa-ta-al-ḫa-an u-ur-k[i-*.

obv. 5'. [*pār-ga-u-wa-aš*] HUR.SAG^{ḫ1.Λ}-*aš* has been restored on analogy with
Text C rev. 18'.

rev. 1' ff. This colophon also appears in the catalogue text KUB XXX 43 III
20–22⁵⁵⁰ (Nb), from which the restorations here have been drawn:

DUB.2.KAM *ma-a-an ḫa-a-ša-u-wa-aš* DUMU-*a[n]*

ar-ma-aḫ-ḫu-wa-az-za wa-aš-ši-ya-a[z]

iš-ki-iz-zi

Although Otten⁵⁵¹ has suggested a restoration *wa-aš-ši-ya-a[z-zi]*, “she
clothes,” for XXX 43 III 21, note that there is no further sign following *wa-aš-*
ši-ya-az in KBo XXIV 17 rev. 2', and that we are thus dealing with the abl. of
wašši-, “medicine.”⁵⁵²

Also, *ar-ma-aḫ-ḫu-wa-aš* (Na rev. 2'), gen. of *armahḫuwar*, “pregnancy,” is
to be regarded as the correct original writing here, and *ar-ma-aḫ-ḫu-wa-az-za*
(Nb III 21) as a corruption thereof.^{552a}

⁵⁵⁰ See Otten, Das Altertum 1, 1955, 74, with n. 4, and Laroche, Cat² 177.

⁵⁵¹ ZA 50, 1952, 234, n. 1, taken over in HW² 324. But see now Introduction to KBo
XXIV, VI.

⁵⁵² XXX 43 III 20 ff. must also be deleted from the collection of attestations of the
verb *wašši-ya-* assembled by Eichner, MSS 27, 1970, 5 ff. Eichner lists this passage
on pp. 17–18, having taken over its interpretation from an early translation by
Laroche–ArOr 17, 1949, 17.

^{552a} Cf. now Puhvel, BiOr 38, 1981, 351.

- I [] × []
-
- 2'. [] *ša-ak-ni-e-e[š[?]-zi[?]*
 []^{SAL}A-ŠA-ZU *ma-a-nā-aš* × []
- 4'. [] *SAL-za É-ir-za pa-ra-a pa-iz-zi*
 [] *ša-an[?]-h* *a-an-zi nu har-na-a-ú-i pa-ap-pár-ša-an-z[i]*
- 6'. [] × *-zi EGIR-an-da-ma wa-a-tar*
 [] *-az SAL-za ar-ha I-NA É-ŠÚ*
- 8'. [*pa-iz-zi*] × *ti-it-ta-nu-zi GIM-an-ma UD^{U1.A}*
 [*pa-a-an-zi[?]*] *-z[i nu-za wa-ar-ap-zi nam-ma-za a-pa-a-aš*
- 10'. [] *-i[?] an-da u-zi-ya IŠ-TU MUŠEN*
 [*BAL-ti*] *-ši-ma-za u-zi-ya IŠ-TU SILÁ BAL-ti*
- 12'. [] *še-hi-e[[?]]-li-in pa-a-i lu-uk-kat-ta-ma*
 [] *-z[i]*
-
- 14'. [] *pa-r* *a-a ap-pa-an-zi pa-tal-li-ya-aš-ša MUŠEN^{U1.A}*
 [] *a* *r-ha wa-ar-nu-ma-aš-ša MUŠEN^{U1.A}*
- 16'. [] *ki-el-di-ya IŠ-TU UDU BAL-ti*
 [] × *-ú-i-pa-u-wa-aš na-aš EGIR-pa*
- 18'. (traces)
- II ^{G1Š}K[AK[?]
- 2'. *iš-har-nu-m[a-an-zi[?]*
^{URU}KÙ.BABBAR-*aš[*
- 4'. 1 UDU A-NA[
 IŠ-TU GAL[
- 6'. *pa-iz-zi UD[U[?]*
nu 3 al-l[a-
-
- 8'. *nu DUMU-an pal-[*
a-aš-zi a-[
- 10'. GAM-an *a[r-*
 EGIR-p[*a*
- 12'. *na-[*
 × []

(traces)

-
- 2'. [...] becomes soil[ed ...]
 § 2' [...] his wife. When she [...]
 4'. [...] the woman goes forth from the house.
 [...] they [sw]eep? and at the birth-stool they sprinkle.
 6'. [...] But afterwards water
 [...] the woman, away, to her house
 8'. [goes ...] she sets up. But when the days
 [have passed? ...] then she washes herself. Further, this one
 10'. in [...], by means of a bird, [performs] the *u_{zi}*-offering.
 But ... by means of a lamb, (s)he performs the *u_{zi}*-offering.
 12'. [...] bestows [pur]ity?. But in the morning
 [...]
-
- 14'. [...] they reach [for]th. And the birds of the fettering
 § 3' [...] the birds of the burning up
 16'. [...] for well-being, by means of a sheep, (s)he offers.
 [...] ... And (s)he back ...
 18'. (traces)

A pe[g? ...]

- 2'. one ma[kes bloody ...]
 § 4'' Hattuša [...]
 4'. one sheep for [...] by means of a beaker [...]
 6'. goes. A she[ep? ...] and three [...]
-
- 8'. Then the child [...]
 § 5'' remains [...]
 10'. down [...]
 11'–13'. (traces)

Obv. [a)r-ḥa taṛ-na-aḥ-ḥ[i
 2'. [nu-]uš-ša-an i-da-a-[lu(-)
 [] × IK² × []-an²-ti-an i-da-a-lu I[GI²
 4'. [i-da-a-lu-u)n u-ur-ki-in i-da-a-lu-un pa-t[a-al-ḥa-an²]
 [pâr-ga-u-wa-aš] HUR.SAG¹H^{1A}-aš^{1a} ḥal-lu¹-u-wa-aš ḥa-a-r[i-]yq-
 [aš
 6'. [(-)]ar-ša(-)×[]×(-)im-ma-aš[(-)

 [] × [] × [] × []

Rev. [(DUB.2.KAM ma^b-)]q-an^{SAL}ḥa-ša-u-wa-aš [()]
 2'. [(DUMU-a)n a)r-ma-aḥ-ḥu-wa-aš wa-aš-ši-ya-qz [()]
 [(iš-k)]i-iz-zi QA-TI

Commentary

This is a very small fragment, preserving portions of seven lines on the obverse and three on the reverse, these latter lines constituting the colophon of the text.⁵⁴⁸ The text is shown by its colophon to be part of a two-tablet birth ritual. The few lines preserved on the obverse present a text greatly resembling Text C § 12', which is a ceremony for the removal of evils. The beneficiary of this ceremony has not been preserved here, but it was undoubtedly the newborn child.

obv. 1'ff. The lost object of the verb here was presumably some animal employed as a "scapegoat"⁵⁴⁹ to carry off the undesirable qualities enumerated in the following lines. This animal would also have been the subject of the lost verb in obv. 5'. Unfortunately, the text is so badly damaged that only one of the evils involved—[i^{da}lu]n urkin, "the evil track," in obv. 4'—can be read with relative certainty.

obv. 4'. i-da-a-lu-un pa-t[a-al-ḥa-an] is only a suggestion, but it seems to fit the context well. Cf. in lists of evils similar to that of Text N, XXXIII 8 III 12:

a. copy shows -aš^{H1A}

b. for the restorations here, see below, p. 205

548 Not enough of this text has been preserved for a secure dating—note only that the AZ-sign with subscript (rev. 2') shows that it was inscribed no earlier than the Middle Hittite period.

549 See Kümmel, StBoT 3, 191 ff.

place in the interim. If the restoration of *pa-a-an-zi*⁵⁶⁴ at the beginning of I 9' is correct, and the preceding UD^{III.A} refers to the period of pregnancy,⁵⁶⁵ then the remaining preserved lines of col. I probably relate offerings made in the time immediately prior to parturition. *lukkatta* in I 12' indicates that these activities began the day before the birth itself was expected.

I 12'. For the restoration [*še-ḫi-e*]^f-*li-in*, cf. Text Ka obv. 9 and rev. 9. In these passages, as in the present context, the act of *šepellin pai-* follows directly upon the completion of a series of offerings.

I 14'. For the reading *pa-tal-li-ya-aš-ša*, rather than *ḫat-tal-li-ya-aš-ša*, see Oettinger, StBoT 22, 26–27.⁵⁶⁶ To his evidence should be added the existence of the related ^{GIŠ}*patalḫa-*, “fetter,” and ^A*patalḫai-*, “fetter (verb),” the latter of which appears in Text L rev. 24 and 32.

II 1'f. The reading ^{GIŠ}K[AK] is uncertain, but note that in the “Ritual of Papanikri” (KBo V 1) I 25–26 the birth-stool and its pegs are smeared with blood (*išḫarnumai-*).

564 Cf. *pai-* indicating the passage of time in Text Ka obv. 27 and rev. 38.

565 Cf. XXXIII 118:5'–6' (the “Labor of Mount Wašitta”–Friedrich, JKF 2, 1952/53, 150), where the reckoning of a mother's term is described:
UD.KAM^{III.A}-*uš kap-[pu-eš-ki-u-wa-an da-a-iš]*

[I]TU.KAM^{III.A}-*uš gul-aš-ki-[iz-zi]*

[He began to] co[unt] (her) days; (her) [m]onths he determin[es].

566 See also Kühne, ZA 62, 1972, 249.

Commentary

As pointed out by Ehelolf in the Introduction to KUB XXX, V, this text is shown by its vocabulary to be concerned with birth: note DINGIR.MAH (obv. 2'), DUMU.NITA (obv. 4'), DUMU.SAL (obv. 6') and ^{SAL}hašnupalla- (rev. 4'). Its ritual character is revealed by § 9'. The text, or at least that portion which has survived, appears to deal with post-parturition. In §§ 3'–4' Hannaḥanna is involved with a child who has already been born. Due to its fragmentary condition, little can be said either about the date⁵⁴⁴ of the text or about the cultural group to which it belongs.

obv. 2'–3'. For the reading Z[l'] in obv. 2', see CHD III 30. To these fragmentary lines cf. KUB XXXIV 77 obv. 3'–7':

3'. nu ⁴UTU-uš ma-aḥ-ḥa-an ×[

4'. ne-pí-ša-za ḥu-ya-an-za na-aš-ta ud-ni-y[a-aš ḥu-u-ma-an-da-aš']

5'. la-lu-uk-ki-iš-nu-wa-an ḥar-zi Û DINGIR.MAH A-[NA SAL.LUGAL⁵⁴⁵]

6'. I-NA ZI-ŠU an-da-an QA-TAM-MA la-lu-uk-ki-[iš-nu-ud-du]

7'. DUMU-la-ni TI-ni in-na-ra-u-wa-an-n[i

And as the (light of the) Sun-god [... is] flowing down from heaven and has given light [to all? the] la[nds], so likewise let Hannaḥanna create illumina[ti]on f[or the queen] in her soul! [And] in regard to offspring, life (and) strength [may she thrive!']⁵⁴⁶

That is, the activity of the Mother-goddess in bestowing boons is compared in this mythological simile to the illumination of the earth by the sun. This idea must also have been expressed in Text M, where the restoration of the verbs in the imperative mood is not certain, but highly likely.

obv. 5'. wa-[i-wa-la-id-du]: Cf. KBo XII 73 obv.⁵ 5'–6': ḥal-ki-in-na-kán AB.SĪN-i an-da wa-li-wa-la-a-i, "And he (the Storm-god) makes strong the grain in the furrow." In his discussion of this line, Laroche connects *waliwalai* with the adjective *walliwalli*- "strong, vigorous."⁵⁴⁷ Despite the single writing of *l* in the verb, as opposed to the double writing in the adjective, this suggestion is attractive since it yields excellent sense in both Text M and in Laroche's context.

⁵⁴⁴ See now above, p. 24, n. 3.

⁵⁴⁵ Cf. obv. 11'f.: nu A-NA SAL.LUGAL DUMU^{MEŠ}-ŠU A-NA ZI-ŠU an-[da-an QA-TAM-MA] a-ra-an-da-ru.

⁵⁴⁶ Cf. CHD III 30, and Laroche, RHA 49, 1948/49, 19.

⁵⁴⁷ RA 58, 1964, 78.

- [...] a snake? [...]
2. [...] these medicines ... [...]
- § 1' [...] to drink with water [...]
4. [...] that person [...]
[...] the physician cuts. And it to her? [...]
-
6. [...] ... the root he grinds up. A[nd it ...]
- § 2' [...] he pl]aces. And for tasting, a place he cu[ts ...]
8. [...] he loosens (and) he conjures repeatedly:
-
- § 3' [...] ... for the first time? [...]
10. [...] the [...] god[s? ...]
- 1'-3'. (traces)
-
- 4'. [As this] woman [was] formerl[y,]
- § 5'' Let her [no]w become thus! [...]
- 6'. ...
-
- § 6'' This (is) the incantation: "When a Woman is Preg[nant]" ...]
- 8'. sees. And the physician [conjures?] for her as fol[lows]:

constitute a colophon. It is possible either that col. IV was uninscribed, or that this tablet is a collection of compositions involving the ^{LU}A.ZU, each followed by its own colophon.^{567a}

II 7. *wa-kán-na*: For "bite" as "einen kleinen Imbiß genießen," see HW¹ 241.

II 9. For the suggestion that Luwian *ḫa-an-ti-il-za* ("ša-case") *pal-za* is equivalent to Hittite *ḫantezzi palši*, see Meriggi, WZKM 53, 1957, 222.

III 4'ff. For the restorations in § 5'', based on the parallel XXXV 103 rev. 6ff.,⁵⁶⁸ see Meriggi, loc.cit., and Starke, KZ 94, 1980, 78, with n. 18, and 82. From a comparison of the parallel lines, the latter writer also concludes that Luwian *unatti-* means "woman." Note only that where Text P has the imp. *a-ya-ru*, "let him do!," XXXV 103 rev. 7 reads *a-aš-du*, "let him be!" Since the duplicate to XXXV 103, XXXV 102, in rev. 7 also reads *a-aš-[(du)]*, we must regard this form as the original and *a-ya-ru* in KBo VIII 130 as a corruption.

III 6'. Laroche, DLL 47, suggests that *ḫuštī-* is the Luwian equivalent of Hittite ^(NA4)*ḫušt(i)-*, for which see above, pp. 50f.

567a Prof. Otten's collation suggests that Text P may well be a single-columned tablet.

568 A unilingual Luwian birth ritual—see below, p. 228.

Obv. [] × ×[

2'. [nu[?]] DINGIR.MAḪ Z[I[?]
la-lu-uk-ki-i[š-nu-ud-du

4'. ma-a-an DUMU.NITA-[aš ... mi-ya-ri[?]
na-aš wa-l[i-wa-la-id-du[?]

6'. ma-a-an DUMU.SAL-a[š ... mi-ya-ri[?]
na-aš ḫa-]

8'. i-ya-a-t[a-(ar[?])
na-at[

10'. a-aš-šu-u[I[?]
[] A[?][

Rev. UM[?]-MA^{m?} × [

2'. ka-a-aš ḫa-an-[da-a-iz-zi
ma-a-an-za SAL-za ú-i-ú-[i-iš-ki-u-wa-an da-a-i]
4'. nu^{SAL} ḫa-aš-nu-pa-al-l[a-aš ḫu-uk-ki-iš-ki-iz-zi[?]

Commentary

It is likely, but not certain, that this Empire-period fragment is part of a birth ritual. The presence of the midwife⁵⁶⁹ and the fact that a woman is treated here speak in favor of this assumption. The only well-preserved and thus intelligible part of the text, §§ 2'–3', presents an instance of analogic magic involving the breaking of an empty pot.⁵⁷⁰ The desired effect of this action is the parallel destruction of the woman's curser/sorcerer (10'–11'). In the context of a birth, this type of action could have been employed to counter difficulties in delivery arising from unknown causes, or simply as a precaution before the birth began.

⁵⁶⁹ Note, however, that the midwife occasionally appears in situations other than birth—see below, p. 235.

⁵⁷⁰ Cf. 1) XXXII 115 ++ ("Second Ritual of Maštigga") IV 9–14 ([Jakob-]Rost, MIO 1, 1953, 364) and parallel KBo XXIV 1 ("Third Ritual of Maštigga") I 9–12, where a pot is first swung over the offerants and then broken, and 2) the "Song of Ullikummi" Tablet I A III 25' (JCS 5, 1951, 152), where Kumarbi expresses the wish that his son, the stone monster, should chase the gods from heaven like birds and

nu-wa-ra-aš dan-na-ru-uš DUG.UTÚL^{H1.A}-u[š GIM-an] ar-ḫa du-wa-ar-ni-eš-ki-id-du

break them up [like] empty vessels!

See also Sommer, OLZ 1953, 17, and KBo XX 60:5–7.

[And] flint², the stone, (and) apple-wood I ho[ld ...] To the bewitched [per]son the fl[int]² and the apple-wood² I hold out² (saying:)] “With the apple-wood let them ta[ke] his tooth! [With the flint²] let him be struck! And the nine [body parts’ ...]”

The third line here is practically identical to rev. 28–29 of Text L and thus provides another partial example of our second incantation.

rev. 29. *wa-aḥ-nu-ut* here is imp.2.sg. in parallelism with *e-iz-za*. For *waḥnu*- with the intransitive meaning “turn oneself,” see Freydank, MIO 7, 1959/60, 374.

Although EN-KA, “your lord,” would better fit the context here, EN-ŠŪ certainly refers to the person who has brought the HUL-*luš* EME-*aš* into existence, probably by means of the SAL-*za*, “(sorcerous) woman.”

rev. 30ff. The sense of the third incantation is blurred for us by the cultural specificity of its metaphors. The curse seems to imply that the malefactor of the child shall suffer various frightening and unusual experiences. This is readily evident in rev. 32: UR.MAH-*an* GIŠ-*ru-an-da-an* KI.MIN (= *aušdu*), “Let him see the springing lion!,” but the other cases are not so clear. Certainly, however, the sense of each phrase is negative.

rev. 30. The spelling [tá]k-*ki-iš-iz-zi* (cf. also *ták-ki-eš-iz-zi*, rev. 33), merely a graphic variant⁵³⁸ of *ták-ki-eš-zi* on analogy with the very common verbal type represented by *peḥutezzi* (I 2a in HE I²), is yet another indication that we are dealing with a late text here.⁵³⁹

AN-*iš pal-ḥa-am-ma* corresponds to *ne-pi-iš pal-ḥa-a-ma-an-za* in “C” rev. 7'. While these attributes would seem to be nom./acc.pl.n. and acc.pl.c., respectively, of a Luwian participle, forcing us to understand *nepiš* as a plural, ^dIŠTAR *pa-pa-ar-ta-ma* in line 30 shows that the grammatical forms here are not entirely in order.⁵⁴⁰

rev. 31. KI-*an gi-nu-wa-an-da(-an)*: For the emendation here, cf. “C” rev. 8': [pá]r-*ku-ú-i-in-ma da-ga-an-zi-pa-an gi-nu-wa-an-ta-an*. If *ginuwant-* is the participle of *kinu-*, “break open,” in connection with the earth, and in parallelism with AN-*iš palḥamma*, it could very well have the meaning “spread open, yawning,” as in a chasm.⁵⁴¹

538 Cf. however Oettinger, StBoT 22, 33, where these spellings are adduced as possible evidence for an interchange *šz/z*.

539 See Kempinski/Košak, WO 5, 1970, 205, n. 36.

540 See already Laroche, OLZ 1971, 148–49.

541 Prof. W. Cowgill has pointed out to me the parallel presented to this idea by Iliad 4.182 and 8.150.

Text S = KBo XVII 72

- 1'. [] × [()]

2'. [] -un^{SAL} *ḫa-aš-ša-nu-p[al-la-*

3'. [] × *kat-ta-an* ^{TUG}š[*a*ʔ-

4'. [] *ar-ḫa* Ū-UL × [
5'. [] *am-mu*ʔ-] *uq-qa-za kat-ti-i*[šʔ-šī

6'. [] × × × [

This piece is included here because of the occurrence of ^{SAL}*ḫa-aš-ša-nu-p[al-la-]*, “midwife,” in line 2'. This form is of interest because it has not syncopated the *a*-vowel before the *-nu*-causative suffix, as in all other attested examples of this word.

The few preserved words and the closely-drawn paragraph lines give the impression that we are dealing here with a ritual, rather than with a mythological narrative or a prayer, other types of text in which a midwife is attested.

An interpretation ^{GIŠ}DAG-*an-za*, “from the throne-dais,” is also possible, but the presence of the throne-dais is unmotivated, and there would also be no object for KL.MIN (= *dai*). Decisive, however, is the observation that in this line the same objects are taken which occur in the speech in rev. 27–29. ^{GIŠ} here is a logogram corresponding to the full form ^{GIŠ}HAŠHUR-*lu*- in rev. 28 and thus cannot serve as a determinative for DAG. For the use of the alternative ablative form in -*anza*⁵²⁹ with *tekan*-, “earth,” cf. *ne-pi-ša-an-z[a]*, “from heaven,” in XV 34 IV 32’.

Outside of this text, *šiuwal* is found only in NBC 11786, which is probably a fragment of an inventory:

- 1’.]× ZABAR 1 PA-A-ŠU GAL[
 2’.]-al-li an-da ap-pa-an-ta[
 3’.]× ^{URUDU}ši-wa-al da-aš-šu[
 4’.]× ZABAR [(?)]

This passage shows that *šiuwal* was a weighty tool which could be made of copper. My translation “dagger”⁵³⁰ is only a suggestion, based upon the use of *šiuwal* as an instrument of blinding in the incantation here. *šehuwal* in “C” rev. 19’ (*še-hu-wa-a[l-za]*—abl.sg.) is undoubtedly a variant form of this word.

rev. 27. For the transitive Middle verb *šarbiya*-, cf. Bo 1706 rev. 17 (StBoT 5, 154): *nu-wa-za-kán ku-u-uš*¹ EME^{MEŠ} *šar-bi-ya-ab-hu-ut*, “and these tongues š.!” The Active iterative *šarbišk*-, which probably belongs to the same stem, is loosely defined by Gurney, AAA 27, 1940, 105, as “behave in the manner of a lion.”⁵³¹ Friedrich, ZA 49, 1950, 251, and HW¹ 185, put forth for *šarb(išk)*- the definition “herfallen (über).”⁵³² Otten, StBoT 7, 13, has suggested that *šarbuntalli*-, “like a robber” (equated in a lexical list with Akkadian ALPU) is a related word. Finally, if ^{GIŠ}*šarbulli*-, which indicates certain architectural projections in the walls of Hittite cellas,⁵³² also belongs here, perhaps the basic meaning of the stem *šarb(iya)*- is “press, push (down or out); oppress.”

529 See HE I² § 60.

530 Note that while the Sumerogram *GÍR*, “knife, dagger,” takes as its phonetic complement -*an*—see HW¹ 274—there are several compound logograms indicating cutting instruments—e.g., *GÍR.URUDU.GAL*—whose Hittite correspondences remain completely unknown.

531 The context discussed by Gurney involves the land of Hatti performing this action in relation to its neighbors.

532 See Neve, FsOtten 271–72.

This Hurrian-derived text⁵⁷¹—note *tuni* (II 2'),⁵⁷² *nirambi* (II 3'),⁵⁷³ *b/wuri* (II 6'),⁵⁷⁴ and [*aš*]*apšiya hišša[mmišiya]* (II 11')⁵⁷⁵—is shown to be a birth ritual by III 7': "... they? puri[ty] the mother (and?/of?) the male child." A thirteenth-century date of inscription is indicated for this fragment by the presence of the late form of LI in III 3'.

The preserved portion of col. II apparently describes offerings for the gods, especially for the Mother-goddesses, before whom a cultic stone is erected (II 9'). This is reminiscent of Text K §§ 14–16, where a program of worship for these deities is prescribed for the entire course of pregnancy. To col. III, where a *patili*-priest, a *šinapši*-house, and purificatory rites are mentioned, cf. the "Ritual of Papanikri" (KBo V 1) I 12 ff., and Text J, especially § 6'.

For other examples of *huwaši*- with the determinative GIŠ, see Darga, RHA 84/85, 1969, 11, n. 6.

571 A close relationship to Text J is seemingly indicated by the unusual spelling ^{LU}*bati-li*- in both texts—see below, p. 236.

572 Cf. ^{NINDA}*duni*-, Haas/Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 286. But see also Neu, StBoT 12, 57, n. 37, and Laroche, GLH 271.

573 See AOATS 3, 111, and GLH 184.

574 See AOATS 3, 101–02, and GLH 299.

575 For the restoration, cf. XV 34 IV 46 f.: 1 MUŠEN *a-ša-ap-ši-ya hi-iš-ša-am-mi-ši-ya wa-ar-nu-an-zi*. For the cultic terms (*a*)*šapši* and *heššammi*, see GLH 215 and 108.

“C” = KUB XXXV 145 rev. 3’–20’⁵²⁷

- [*ki-e-da-ni* M]U.KAM-ti *ki-e-da-ni* ITU.KAM-mi^a *ki-e-da-ni*
UD.[KAM-ti]
4’. [*ki-e*]d_q-n_i GI₆.KAM-an-ti^b *la-am-ni-i*^c *ḫal-ta-at-ti nu-za ku-iš* [()]
[(*ku-u-u*)]n^d DUMU.LÚ.UL^{LU}-an *pa-ra-a i-da-la-a-u-wa-an-ni*^d *ḫu-it-ti-*
ya-zi^e
6’. [*ku-i*]š-mu-kán DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš *pár-ra-ḡn-ta i-da-la-a-u-wa-an-ni me-*
ma-i
[*ku-i*]š-mu *al-wa-an-za-aḫ-[ḫi] ne-pi-iš pal-ḫa-a-ma-an-za a-uš-du*
8’. [*pá*]r-ku-ú-i-in-na-ma *da-ga-an-zi-pa-ḡn gi-nu-wa-an-ta-an a-uš-du*
[] × *gi-nu-uš-ša-ri-ya-an-ta-an a-uš-du*
10’. [*da-ga-an-zi*]i-pa-an *a-aḫ-ḫu-wa-a-aḫ-ḫu-wa-a-mi-in a-uš-du* [()]
[-i]n^f *du-un-du-ma-mi-in a-uš-du* ^gU.GUR *pal-p[a’-da-mi-in’]*
12’. [*a-uš-du* ^h]AMAR.UTU-an *ši-ya-an-ta-an a-uš-du* ⁱZA.BA₄.B[A₄
[]-ta-an *a-uš-du* ^jPi-ir-wa-an *pár-ḫa-an-d[a-an a-uš-du]*
14’. [*ḫi-in-ga-a*]n *za-ap-pi-ya-an a-uš-du* UR.MAḪ *ki-ša-a-×[*
a-uš-du] UR.BAR.RA *pa-tal-ḫi-ya-ma a-uš-du* [()]
16’. [MUŠ] GİR^{MEŠ}.ŠU *a-uš-du za-al-ti-in pa-ra-a-ma a-u[š-du]*
[] × *a-uš-du* ^{NA4}*du-uš-ki-in a-uš-du* [()]
18’. []-a-ḡl *a-uš-du ša-ma-lu-wa-an-za-kán* KA × UD^{ḫ1.A}-uš *d[a-an-du]*
[EME-Š]U^g-kán ^{NA4}*du-uš-ki-iš ku-ir-du še-ḫu-wa-a-a[-za’]*
20’. [IG]^{ḫ1.A}-wa] *ta-šú-wa-aḫ-du*

No translation has been provided for this text since it is largely identical to the main text, and where it diverges, our lexical ignorance makes translation uncertain.

In what follows, “B” and “C” will be discussed philologically only insofar as this is necessary for the elucidation of the main text.

rev. 22. Whereas in “B” the vocatives (EME-(aš) EN-aš—obv. 10’, rev. 3) and the verbs in obv. 10’–12’ and rev. 3–4 are singular, the main text has EME^{ḫ1.A}

- a. dup. III 14’: ITU-mi
- b. dup. III 15’ omits
- c. dup. III 15’: *la-am-ni*
- d. dup. III 17’:]-ḫi
- e. dup. III 17’: SUD-ya-zi

⁵²⁷ Otten, ZA 66, 1976, 92, transcribes lines 8’–10’ of this text.

- (traces)
- 2'. [two *tarpala*⁷] of r[ed] wool [...]
 [...] becom[es] pure [...]
- 4'. [...] in the *šinap*[š*i*]-house [...]
 [at n]ight, [behind] the *šeḫell*[i*š*ki]
- 6'. they offer a [*tuḫal*z]i. [...]
 [...] they hold. Furth[er⁷ ...]
- 8'. at a [di]fferent place [...]
 by means of a bird they offer [...]
- 10'. they offer. And [...]
 they step. Of [...]
- 12'. at nig[ht, behind the *šeḫelliš*ki]
 [they offer] a *tuḫal*zi. [...]
- 14'. (traces)

When a woman is (seated) upon the birth-stool, and [...]

2. and she has already piled up (i. e., completed) the months—[if it is a male child, then the ritual]
 they perform in the third month (after birth). But if it is a female child, then the ritual
4. they perform i[n the fourth month.] And if the ritual in place already [...]
 the woman, the offerant, will become impure. And if the (male) child into [the fourth month]
6. has already entered, and the tenth day¹⁷ of the fourth month has n[ot⁷⁷ ...]
 But if it is a female child, and for her the fourth month has already passed,
8. but they have not yet attained the fifth month—if [...] and the tenth month passes, this one [...]
10. will not stand, or somethin[g ...]
 will occur [there]in. And this [...]
12. [An]d it will not occu[r ...]
 [will occu]r. If [...]
- 14–15. (traces)

Commentary

This text of Kizzuwatnaean background is preserved in a thirteenth-century copy—the late form of L1 is found in obv. 8’—but its composition is shown to be earlier by the presence of the sentence-particle *-šan* (rev. 4, 6, 8). It is uncertain whether the offerings mentioned on the very fragmentary obv. are part of the ritual presented on the rev., or whether a new composition begins with rev. 1. The rev., at any rate, discusses the timing of a post-parturition ritual for the new-born—cf. here Text K §§ 10–11 and §§ 28–29.

obv. 5’f. For the restoration here and in obv. 12’, cf. KBo XXIV 45 obv. 28’:

[*lu-u*]k-kat-ta-ma še-hé-el-li-iš-ki EGIR-an-da tu-ḫal-zi-in ši-pa-an-da-an-zi

and KUB XXX 31 + XXXII 114 IV 29–32:

lu-uk-kat-ta-ma I-NA UD.22.KAM I-NA ^{URU}Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-ni

še-ir šal-li ^éka-ri-im-na-na-aš

A-NA ^{IM}“Hé-bat še-bi-el-li-iš-ki-ya-aš

EGIR-an-da [*t*]u-ḫal-zi-in ši-pa-an-da-an-zi

tuḫalzi is a Hurrian word⁵⁷⁶ which appears as an offering only a few times in the Boğazköy texts.⁵⁷⁷ The “Ritual of Papanikri” (KBo V 1) I 56, I-NA UD.2. KAM-ma 2 *tu-ḫal-zi ši-pa-an-da-an-zi*, “on the second day they offer two *t.*,” shows that *tuḫalzi* denotes something concrete, as does XLVII 45 III 12’–14’:

nu ^{LÚ}AZU A-NA BE-EL SISKUR.SISKUR ×[

tu-u-ḫal-zi-in pa-ra-a e-iḫ-z[i

ši-pa-an-ti ^{LÚ}AZU *ḫur-li-ll[i*

where the *tuḫalzi* is held. A more precise meaning cannot be established from these few contexts.

rev. 1. To this line cf. the “Ritual of Papanikri” (KBo V 1) I 2—see above, p. 116, with n. 307.

rev. 2. For *šara tittanu-*, “cover (a distance),” see Güterbock, JAOS 84, 1964, 271. Although Güterbock explains the term in connection with spatial distance, this line demonstrates that *šara tittanu-* could also be used of temporal spans.

For the secondary signification “already” of *karu* with the present tense or participle, see Neu, StBoT 18, 104.

⁵⁷⁶ See Laroche, GLH 269, and Kronasser, SchwGoth 52.

⁵⁷⁷ Note SISKUR *tu-ḫal-zi* in XXIX 4 + KBo XXIV 86 III 24, and see III 14 and 35 where *tu-ḫal-zi(-in)* is the object of *šipant-*.

rev. 5ff. For the verb *šakneš*-, “be(come) soiled,” see above, p. 208.

The restoration and interpretation of these lines is not entirely certain, although their general sense is apparent. Mutual restoration of lines in Text U and comparison with §§ 10–11 and §§ 28–29 of Text K show that a ceremony was prescribed for a male child in the third month after birth and for a female child in the fourth month. Text U seems to deal with the possibility that the proper ritual has been neglected or delayed. Confusion arises due to the fragmentary condition of the piece, which renders the apodosis of rev. 10ff. unintelligible, and due to the employment of two different constructions for the passing of time, both involving the verb *pai*-, “go.” In rev. 7 we have the usual construction with the unit of time (here ITU.4.KAM) serving as the subject of *pai*-,⁵⁷⁸ while in rev. 5f. we probably have DUMU^{RU}, the child, as the subject of *pai*-, with the expression of time given by the logographic prepositional phrase *I-NA* [ITU.4.KAM].

Text W = KBo XIV 23

- | | | | | |
|-------|---|----------------|----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1'. [|] | × | × | [|
| 2'. [|] | 1 | ^{GIŠ} | <i>lu-la-a-i</i> |
| | [| | | <i>-t</i>]i? |
| 4'. [| | | | <i>-i</i>]t <i>iš-ḫi-ya-an-da</i> |
| | [| | |] |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| 6'. [| | ^{SI} | <i>ḫu²-r</i>] | <i>i-ta</i> |
| | [| ^{GIŠ} | <i>pa-a²-</i>] | <i>i-ni</i> |
| 8'. [|] | × | × | <i>ga-a-an</i> |

This fragment has been included here because Laroche lists it under CTH 477 (which contains Texts H and J), although its extremely fragmentary condition makes any conclusions as to its character or date difficult. Binding is certainly a prominent feature in Text H, and *iš-ḫi-ya-an-da* in 4' here may indicate a relationship to that text. If restored correctly, [^{SI}*ḫu²-r*]

prove it.
For ^{GIŠ}*lu-lai*- in 2', see CHD III 80.

578 See Kümmel, StBoT 3, 94.

579 See Hoffner, AlHeth 119.

III. VARIA

Text Y = KBo VII 74 II 3'–4'

In addition to the texts edited here, the Hittites possessed yet other rituals dealing with birth. One of these is known to us because its colophon has been preserved in a library catalogue of thirteenth-century date,¹ KBo VII 74 II 3'–4' (with dup. HSM 3644 1'–2' [Yb]²), although the text itself has not been recovered:³

[N TUP-PU *m(a-a-a)n*] A-NA ^dIŠTAR ^{ḪUR.SAG}A-ma-a-na EZEN ŠUM-MA-
[TE^{MES}]

[EZEN (*ú-e-ú^a-*)] *e-eš-ki-u-wa-aš* EZEN *ḫa-aš-ša-an-na-a[š i-ya-an-zi?]*

[Nth tablet.] When for Šaušga of Mount Amanus the Festival of the Pige[ons], [the Festival] of Crying Out (and) the Festival of the Womb [they perform?].

3'. If ^{ḪUR.SAG}A-ma-a-na here refers to the Amanus range, as is likely,⁴ ^dIŠTAR would represent the Hurrian goddess Šaušga.⁵ ^dIŠTAR is found in association with ^{ḪUR.SAG}Amana also at XXX 31 IV 1 and KBo XIX 142 III 20, and with another Syrian mountain⁶ (^{ḪUR.SAG}Pišaiša) also in the mythological text XXXIII 108.⁷

A "Festival of the Pigeons" is not attested elsewhere, but it is interesting to note that the dove/pigeon is known in connection with an Ištar figure in other contexts. In the archaic Ištar Temple at Assur were discovered small clay models of houses ornamented with facades made up of tiny "doves."⁸ More

a. Yb 2': [EZEN] *ú-i-ú-i-i[š-(ki-u-wa-aš)]*

1 For Ya note the late LI-sign in II 2', and for Yb the late KÙ in 7'.

2 See Güterbock, JCS 19, 1965, 33.

3 See Laroche, Cat² 159, 161.

4 See von Brandenstein, Or ns 8, 1939, 76, n. 3, and del Monte, RG 6, 11f.

5 The area to the north of Aleppo had already been penetrated by Hurrians in the Middle Bronze period—see Kupper, CAH³ II, Pt. 1, 23.

6 See del Monte, RG 6, 316, and Astour, XXIV^a RAI 16.

7 See Friedrich, JKF 2, 1952/53, 147ff.

8 See E. Douglas van Buren, The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia as Represented in Art, AO 18 (Rome, 1939), p. 89.

importantly, the Astarte of the Phoenician and Hellenistic periods claimed the dove as her sacred animal,⁹ and her temples were the homes of flocks of these birds.¹⁰ See Danmanville, RHA 70, 1962, 45, for the association of ⁴IŠ-TAR/Šaušga with pigeons in the Boğazköy texts, and note the particular use in her cult of vessels fashioned in the shape of birds.¹¹

4'. [EZEN (*ú-e-ú-*)]*e-eš-ki-u-wa-aš*, "[Festival] of Crying Out": That this is a designation for a birth ritual is clear from a comparison with Text B § 3', where an "Incantation of Crying Out" (*ŠIPAT uiniškiuwaš*) is employed to aid the mother during delivery.

In view of this, EZEN *ba-aš-ša-an-na-aš* is better translated "Festival of the Womb" than "Festival of the Family"¹²—cf. Text K obv. 37 and rev. 45.

The three festivals listed here—those of the pigeons, of crying out, and of birth—should be understood as together constituting one complex birth ritual. The performance of such a birth ritual for ⁴IŠTAR, while unique in Hittite texts, should not cause surprise, as deities whose names are represented by this logogram in the cuneiform sources are invariably concerned with fertility, however broad the total sphere of their activity might be.¹³

9 See H. Renggren in *Historia Religionum*, ed. C. J. Bleeker and G. Widengren (Leiden, 1969), I, 207.

10 See Franz Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism* (New York, 1911), p. 117.

11 See Carruba, *Kadmos* 6, 1967, 96.

12 This latter rendering is tentatively suggested by Laroche, *Cat*² 161.

13 See Edzard in *WbMyth* I, 81 ff. (sub Inanna/Ištar).

Za

4'. [na-aš-t]a EN.SISKUR 3 BI-IB-UR[
[šu-)]un-na-i nu-uš-ša-an 3 ×]

6'. EGIR-pa da-a-i 1 BI-IB-RA PA-NI [(^dGul-ša-aš)]
DINGIR.MA_H^{MEŠ}-aš^c da-a-i [()]

8'. UD.2.KAM tu_b-hu-uš-t[a]

9'. nu-za I-NA UD.2.KAM ap-pi-iz-zi-ya-aš ha-a-[li-ya-aš?^d SAL.GAL?^d]

10'. DINGIR^{LAM} an-ku^d ú-e-u-iš-ki-u-an^e da-a-i [()]
nu SAL.GAL an-da har-kán-zi na-an EN.DINGIR^{MEŠ}[
12'. wa-ah-nu-uš-kán-zi^{LÚ} NAR-ma-aš-š¹ SAL.MEŠ² kat-ri-[eš-ša]
EGIR-an ŠIR^{RU} nu GI₆-an^f la-ak-nu-wa-an-zi]
14'. [?³ š] a-ša-an-ni-iš-ša-an ki-ya- [()] ×]
[-š(/t)]a-na-aš-ma 1 NAM-MA-TUM^g (l)

- with duplicate KBo XXIV 6 (Zb)
- over erasure
- Zb obv. 3': DINGIR.MAH-aš
- this phrase omitted in Zb
- Zb obv. 5': ú-i-[š-ki-u-an]
- Zb obv. 7': [i]š-pa-an-da-an
- Zb obv. 8': 1 NAM-MA-AN-DU

Zb II [...] the offerant [...]

2'. [...] the seer [...]

§ 1' [...] tak[es⁷].

4'. [The]n the offerant fills three rhyta [...]

§ 2' And three [...]

6'. he places back. One rhyton before the Fate-deities
(and) the Mother-goddesses he places.

8'. The second day is at an end.

§ 3' And during the last wat[ch] of the second day, [the "great woman"⁷]

10'. begins to really cry out because of the deity.

And they care for the "great woman," and her the "lord of the gods"
[and⁷ ...]

12'. swing (over). But for her the singer and the *katra*-women
afterwards sing. Then they pass the night [...]

14'. in the lamp ... [...]

... one measuring cup of oil [...]

Zb

Obv.

- 9'. [-z]i nu-za DINGIR^{LAM} ħa-a-ši[
 10'. [] -zi nam-ma e-eš-š[i?]
 [] × an-da i-[
 12'. [] ×-ma[
 [] ×[

Zb

- Rev. [u]zuvd[a?-
 2'. [] ×-a na-a[š(-)
 [] ×-ri-in-m[a?
 4'. [] ×^{UZU}NÍG.G[IG
 [] na-aš-ta[
 6'. [-š]a^{NINDA}p[ár?-
 [] A-N[A
 8'. [] ×[

Commentary

The birth mentioned in this text seems to be a physical activity and not part of an incantation or a mythological interpolation in a ritual context. It is very possible that a divine image was manipulated while a priestess acting as the mother (the SAL.GAL, “great woman,” of II 11?) feigned labor and delivery, but this must remain only a suggestion. The employment of the vocabulary of normal human birth in this text demands its inclusion in this corpus.

Not enough of this text has been preserved to allow a dating of any precision. Za is shown to be of thirteenth-century date by the later form of AK in II 13', while Zb may have been inscribed earlier—note the older forms of AH (obv. 6'), AK (obv. 7') and E (obv. 10'). Where Za has the logogram GI₆-an (II 13'), Zb has preserved the phonetic spelling iš-pa-an-da-an (obv. 7').

Za II 4'. For the restoration of the sentence-particle -ašta with šunna-, cf. Text Fa I 7'.

II 8'. For the Middle voice of tuḫš-/tuḫḫuš- as “come to an end,” see Neu, StBoT 5, 176.

II 9'. For ħali-, “watch (period of time),” see Güterbock, JCS 6, 1952, 35–36.

Obv.

9'. [...] and she gives birth to the deity [...]

10'–13'. (traces)

Rev. too fragmentary for translation

II 10'. For *wiwai-*, see above, p.37. Judging from the texts edited here, the spelling of this word with *e*-vocalization is younger than that with the *i*-vowel.

II 11'. The Sumerogram SAL.GAL is not found elsewhere. Note only KBo XXIII 1 III 2–4:

nu-za ŠA É.DINGIR^{LIM} šal-li-iš
SAL-za pá-r-ku-iš SÍG BABBAR a-li-in
da-a-i

And the pure “great woman” of the temple takes the white *ali*-wool.

which may feature the same practitioner.

The EN.DINGIR^{MES}/DINGIR^{LIM},¹⁴ literally “lord of the god(s),” is attested in both the singular and plural numbers.¹⁵ This cultic functionary is apparently at home in texts of Hurro-Luwian milieu—note his appearance in texts of the cults of the goddess Huwaššanna of Hubešna (XXVII 57 II 15, 18; XXVII 65 I 20; XXVII 66 II 10', 12', 13', all belonging to CTH 692), of Tešub and Hebat (KBo XIV 133 III 8'–CTH 706), and of Ištar of Nineveh (X 63 I 28–CTH 715). Unfortunately the available material does not permit a precise determination of the character of this practitioner. Note only that in Bo 2715 III 15'–16' we find the EN.DINGIR^{LIM} performing the (*arḥa*) *wahnu-*, “swinging-,” ceremony, as in Text Z:¹⁶

na-an EN.DINGIR^{LIM} IŠ-TU MUŠEN HUR-RI
wa-aḥ-nu-zi nu MUŠEN HUR-RI ar-ḥa tar-na-i

14 Not to be confused with the appositional expression EN^{MES} DINGIR^{MES}, “the gods, the lords,” found, for example, at VI 45 I 16.

15 E.g., X 63 I 28: LÚ^{MES} EN.DINGIR^{MES}.

16 For this treatment of the mother by the “swinging-” ceremony, cf. Text H § 13'.

II 12'. For ^{SAL.MEŠ}*katr[ēš]*, see above, pp. 106–08.

II 13'. For *Gl₆-an laknu-*, “spend the night,” see Otten, HTR 125, and Neu, StBoT 18, 80, n. 149.

Luwian Birth Rituals

In addition to Hittite-language birth rituals, there have been found among the Boğazköy texts two unilingual Luwian compositions concerned with birth.^{16a} The first is XXXV 103, with duplicate XXXV 102 (CTH766, “conjunction de la lune”).¹⁷ XXXV 103 rev. 10 identifies the preceding contents as 2 *by-uk-ma-iš ar-ma-u-wa-aš QA-T[I]*, “two incantations of pregnancy, complete.” Since the preserved portions of this text, as far as they can be understood, deal with birth and immediate post-parturition, *armauwaš* (gen.sg. of *armauwar*) must be seen here as referring to the entire process of human reproduction and not to pregnancy alone.

The best preserved paragraph of this text, KUB XXXV 103 rev. 4–7 (dup. XXXV 102 rev. 4–7), may be presented here:

4. *za-am-pa-ku-wa*^a DUMU-ni-in *wa-al-li-in-du* [()]
5. *ša-an-na-i-in-du pa-wa-an-tar a-an-ni*^b [()]
6. [(t)]i-i-ta-ni *du-ú-wa-an-du pa-aš pu-ú-wa* [()]
7. [(ku-w)]a-ti *a-aš-ta na-nu-un-ḫa-aš a-pa-ti*^c *a-aš-du* [()]

Let them lift up this child! Let them care[?] (for him)! And let them place him at the breast of his mother! And as she was formerly, so let her be now!¹⁸

a. dup. rev. 4: [*za-am-*]*pa*

b. dup. rev. 5: *an-ni*

c. dup. rev. 7: [*a-pa-*]*ti-in*

16a See now also KBo XXVII 117, which seems to be a Hurrian-language birth ritual—cf. Otten, KBo XXVII, p.v., and note especially obv. 1: *ŠI-PÁT ma-a-an-za SAL-z[a']*, and 7: *4Ku-ša-ab-we₆-ni-eš-ša wu₄-ut-*.

17 For complete transcriptions, see Otten, LTU 94–95. Due to the extensive parallels between the two fragments it seems likely that they represent duplicates rather than portions of the same tablet, as suggested by Otten, *ibid.* 94, n. 2, and 95, n. 1. It would be particularly strange for the colophon-like line XXXV 103 rev. 10 and XXXV 102 rev. 10 to appear twice on a single tablet.

18 See Meriggi, WZKM 53, 1957, 197ff., and Starke, KZ 94, 1980, 80f.

The second Luwian birth ritual is represented by KUB XXXV 88, with duplicate XXXV 89 (CTH 765.1).¹⁹ The copy indicates that XXXV 88 was originally a two-columned tablet, but all that has been preserved are portions of obv. II and rev. III. The surface of obv. II has been so badly damaged that it is difficult to extract much sense from it. Only II 11 is readily intelligible: [*ku-iš-ḫa za-a-ti-20*]i DUMU-ni a-ad-du-wa-q-ql a-q-an-ni-i-[*ti*²¹], “[whoever] prepar[es] evil against [th]is child.” This line suggests that the child has already been born, and that this ritual is therefore at least partially post-parturitive. While nothing may be said about what stood in the lost obv. I of XXXV 88, XXXV 89:20’, which follows upon a double paragraph stroke at the end of the fragment, and which therefore quite likely represents a colophon, indicates that the emphasis in this composition is on the events after birth, and not upon pregnancy itself: [*ma-a-an*’ D]JUMU-aš I-NA ^{GIŠ}ni-ni-ya-al-li ki-it-ta[, “[when the child] lies in the cradle.”²²

In XXXV 88 rev. III, only one paragraph (13–17, dup. 12’–14’) is preserved to any extent, and it describes a purification of the child through the use of combs. A speech by the practitioner²³ plays an important role here:

13. *ša-ar-ri-wa-tar* DUMU-in *wa-al-li-it-ta la-la-a-i-wa* [(9-un-za)]

14. ^{GIŠ}GA.ZUM-za ^dKam-ru-ši-pa-aš *za-an-ta-wa-tar mi-el-ta-an-za*-[*ti*]

15. *ki-ša-am-ma-an a-aš-du* SAG.DU-za GIG-za IGI^{ḫi.A}-za GIG-z[*(a)*]

16. ^{UZU}GEŠTU-za^a GIG-za ^{UZU}KA×U-za GIG-za ^{UZU}ḫu-ḫar-ta-a[š’-ši-in-za]

17. GIG-za ŠU⁷b^{ḫi.A}-za GIG-za^c nu ŪR^{ḫi.A} *ḫu-u-ma-an-ta^d ir-ḫ*[(a-a-iz-z)i]

She lifted up the child (saying:) “Let Kamrušepa²⁴ take the nine combs! With the combs²⁵ let him (the child) be combed! The sicknesses of the head, the

a. dup. 13’: GEŠTU^{ḫi.A}-ša

b. over erasure

c. A verb is clearly missing here. Restore *la-a-la-an-du*, “let them take,” as attested in KBo IX 145: 7?.

d. dup. 14’: [*ḫu-u-ma-an*

19 For transcriptions, see Otten, LTU 86–87.

20 My restoration is based on a comparison with Text L rev. 30, 33.

21 Cf. Otten, LTU 86, n. 4.

22 Cf. Text E obv. 7’.

23 Assumed for convenience to be female, although the personnel are not named by title in the preserved text.

24 For the appearance of this healing goddess of Hattic origin in Luwian and Luwian-influenced rituals, see Haas, Or ns 40, 1971, 419ff.

25 See Laroche, BiOr 11, 1954, 124, and Friedrich, Cor.ling 45, n. 8, who both suggest that *melta-* is a loan from Akkadian *muṣtu/mulṭu*, “comb.” My restoration *mi-el-ta-an-za*-[*ti*] is abl./inst.pl.

sicknesses of the eyes, the sicknesses of the ears, the sicknesses of the mouth, the sicknesses of the th[roat²⁶] (and) the sicknesses of the hands? (let them (the combs) take!)” And she trea[ts] all of the body parts [in order].

For the purification of the nine parts of the body following birth, cf. Text C §§ 10’–11’. For the use of the comb as an instrument of purification, cf. XII 26 II 1–10 (where Kamrušepa, along with the Sun-god, is again present), and the “Ritual of Tunnawi(ya)” § 23.²⁷

Other “Birth Rituals”

In THeth 7, 127, n. 216, Kammenhuber provides a list of Hittite birth rituals, most of which²⁸ have been edited in the preceding pages. She also includes a number of texts, however, which I feel do not belong in this corpus.

These are:

KBo XVII 66, 67, 69,²⁹ 70, 71,³⁰ and 93: Of these texts, numbers 69, 70, and 93 show no conclusive evidence of concern with birth. The appearance of the ^{LÜ}*patili-* in numbers 69 and 70 is not proof that these texts are birth rituals, since this ritual practitioner is also active in other types of rituals.³¹ Kammenhuber has presumably included number 93 in her list because of the presence of *harnai-* in line 6: *pār-ku-i wa-a-tar har-na-in-na da-[an-zi’]*, but we have seen³² that this word designates a purificatory material and is not simply a variant spelling of *harnau-*, “birth-stool.” On the other hand, numbers 66, 67, and 71 are small fragments whose identity as birth rituals can neither be confirmed nor denied. In any case, they definitely do not join any of the texts edited in this work.

CTH 472: Why this text, now (re)published as KBo XXIII 1 and duplicates, is included by Kammenhuber in her enumeration of birth rituals is unclear.

26 See Friedrich, Cor.ling 46.

27 Goetze, Tunn 14–17. Here again the combs are nine in number, but instead of the nine body parts, an image of clay is the subject of the treatment.

28 It has not been possible to completely re-edit CTH 476, the “Ritual of Papanikri,” but see above, pp. 116–23.

29 Also characterized as a “Geburtsritual” by Haas and Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 38.

30 In the Introduction to KBo XVII (p. V), Otten designates numbers 60 through 72, inclusive, as birth rituals.

31 See below, pp. 236–38.

32 See above, pp. 102–04.

None of the vocabulary characteristic of birth is found here, and Laroche's designation of this catalogue number as "contre l'impurité" should be retained.³³

33 Cf. KBo XXIII 1 II 19–22:

ma-a-an-kán I-NA É.DINGIR ^{LIM}
an-da šu-u[p-p]a-i pí-di ku-in im-ma ku-in
mar-ša-aš-tar-ri-in ú-e-mi-ya-an-zi
nu ki-i SISKUR.SISKUR-ŠU

If in the temple, in the pure place, any deception at all is discovered—then this is its ritual.

IV. PERSONNEL IN THE BIRTH RITUALS

A. Human

A great variety is to be observed in the practitioners taking part in the Hittite birth rituals. Among other professionals are found the seer (^{LÜ}AZU–Text C and Text K; ^{LÜ}HAL–Text Kb), the nurse (Text C–see above, pp. 48f.), the *katra*-woman (Text H and Text K–see above, pp. 106–08) and the physician (^{LÜ}A.ZU–Text P). But birth was not the chief sphere of activity of any of these occupations. Rather, only two professions—that of the midwife and (to a lesser extent) that of the *patili*-priest—were intimately concerned with human reproduction, and it is these professions that will be discussed here.

1. The Midwife

The Hittite word denoting this occupation is ^{SAL}*haššanupalla*-,¹ which, however, usually syncopates a syllable to become ^{SAL}*hašnupalla*-.² Although the formative *-palla* has yet to be explained,³ this word is clearly a *nomen actoris* derived from the *-nu*-causative stem of verb *haš*-, “give birth.”⁴ In addition, the Sumerogram ^{SAL}ŠA.ZU, “midwife,”⁵ is found several times in Hittite-language texts.⁶

The word ^{SAL}*hašauwa*- has also been thought to indicate the midwife,⁷ due to its obvious derivation from *haš*- by way of the verbal substantive. However,

1 Text S 2'.

2 Text A obv. 1, 6; Text M rev. 4'; Text C obv. 10, 11.

3 The view of Kronasser, *Sprache* 7, 1961, 160–61, that we are dealing here with the Hurrian root *pal*-, “know,” is certainly false. See Kammenhuber, *Arier* 107, n. 334a.

4 See Otten, *ZA* 50, 1952, 233.

5 See von Soden, *AfO* 18, 1957/58, 119–21, for the use of this Sumerogram in Mesopotamian texts.

6 E.g., KBo XII 89 II 12; Text B I 8', IV 13', 20', 23'.

7 See Sayce, *RA* 24, 1927, 123. Hoffner, *JNES* 27, 1968, 200, n. 24, expresses doubt that the midwife is designated by ^{SAL}*hašauwa*-.

while leaving open the exact relationship between ^{SAL}*ḥaš(ša)nupalla-* and ^{SAL}*ḥašauwa-*, Otten has shown that the latter term is the phonetic reading of ^{SAL}ŠU.GI, “old woman.”⁸ This is a title which is often borne by female ritual practitioners in Hittite texts,⁹ and it is not surprising that such a practitioner should be known by a term originally indicating a connection with childbirth. By the time in which our Hittite texts were inscribed, however, ^{SAL}ŠU.GI/^{SAL}*ḥašauwa-* seems to have become a general term for a female ritual practitioner, including various, more specialized, occupations under its rubric. For example, Tunnawiya is called ^{SAL}ŠU.GI in the text edited by Goetze¹⁰ and ^{SAL}ŠA.ZU in a birth ritual (Text B IV 20’). Also, the chief actor in Text C is probably a child’s nurse,¹¹ yet she is referred to as a ^{SAL}*ḥašauwa-*.¹²

Another expression meaning “midwife” is ^{SAL}*ḥarnauwaš*, a genitival construction to be translated literally as “woman of the birth-stool.” In a passage from one of her prayers, queen Puduḥepa tells the Sun-goddess of Arinna:

Among men it is said: “To a ‘woman of the birth-stool’ a deity is favorable.” I, Puduḥepa, am a “woman of the birth-stool” (and since) I have devoted myself to your son, yield to me, Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady! Grant to me what I ask of you! Grant life to [Ḫattušili,] your servant! Through [the Fate-deities?] (and) the Mother-goddesses, let long years (and) days be given to him!¹³

8 ZA 50, 1952, 231–34.

9 See Jakob-Rost, THeth 2, 88–89, and Haas/Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 19, with n. 1. For a differing interpretation of the entire subject of ^{SAL}ŠU.GI/^{SAL}*ḥašauwa-*, see Kammenhuber, THeth 7, 119–29.

10 VII 53 + XII 58 I 1, IV 44.

11 See above, pp. 48 f.

12 Obv. 20 and rev. 9’.

13 XXI 27 II 15–23:

15. A-NA DUMU.NAM.LÚ.ULÙ^{LU}-pát-kán an-da me-mi-an kiš-an me-mi-ış-kán-zi

16. ḥar-na-a-u-wa-aš-wa SAL-ni-i DINGIR^{LUM} ka-a-ri ti-y[a-zi]

17. am-mu-uq-qa-za ‘Pu-du-ḥé-pa-aš ḥar-na-a-wa-aš SAL-z[a

18. A-NA DUMU-KA še-ir SAG.DU-az pí-ya-an ḥa[r-mi]

19. nu-mu⁴UTU^{URU}TÚL-na GAŠAN-YA ka-a-ri ti-ya

20. nu-ut-ta [ú-e-ik-mi?] ku-it na-at-mu pa-a-i

21. A-N[A^mḪa-at-tu-ši-li]R-KA TI-tar pa-a-i

22. [...] DINGIR.MAH^{MES}-az MU^{H1.A} UD^{H1.A}

23. [da-lu-ga-e-eš ... pí-y]a-an-te-eš

For the restoration [da-lu-ga-e-eš] in line 23, cf. III 38’.

In his translation of this passage, Goetze renders SAL *ḫarnauwaš* as “woman in travail,”¹⁴ but this is shown to be an incorrect interpretation by an inventory text which records the disbursement by a *patili*-priest of one mina of silver from the royal stores to a SAL *ḫarnauwaš*.¹⁵ The nature both of the text and of the transaction here make it clear that “woman of the birth-stool” is a professional designation and not a description of a woman experiencing pregnancy or childbirth.

A designation of a person by means of a genitival construction such as SAL *ḫarnauwaš* is not at all unusual in Hittite. In the Hittite Laws (Tablet I § 73), for instance, we find *tayazilaš*, “he of the theft,” as an expression for “thief.”

The activities of the midwife attendant at birth may be divided into two categories. First, of course, there are the actual physical tasks involved in any birth: The midwife prepares the equipment necessary for delivery¹⁶ and thereafter also delivers the child.¹⁷

Secondly, the midwife recites incantations on behalf of the new-born, beseeching the gods to remove evil influences and to grant a desirable fate to the child.¹⁸ One of these incantations reads, in part:¹⁹

Sun-goddess of the Earth [... (various evils)] may you seize! And further [...] you shall [not] let (them) loose (again)! But for the child life, fitness (and) long years continually give!²⁰

When we compare this speech to the request made by Puduḫepa on behalf of her husband Ḫattušili in the prayer quoted above, the similarity is evident. Life and long years are the chief boons requested in each instance. It should also be noted that the DINGIR.MAḪ^{MES}, Mother-goddesses who are also concerned with the allotment of the fates of humans,²¹ are specified by Puduḫepa as the agents of divine good favor.

14 ANET² 393–94; similarly Kleinasien² 151. Cf. also Otten, Puduḫepa 22 (“Frau in Kindesnöten”) and Lebrun, Hymnes et prières 338 (“une femme dans les douleurs de l’enfantement”).

15 XXVI 66 III 9 ff. – see below, pp. 238, with n. 41.

16 E.g., Text A obv. 1 ff.

17 E.g., Text A obv. 6–7.

18 E.g., Text A obv. 8 ff.

19 The title of the practitioner is nowhere preserved in this text, but it seems likely that a midwife was involved here.

20 Text D rev. 9’ ff.

21 See below, pp. 241–46.

The significance of the queen's reference to herself as a midwife is now apparent. The Hittites felt that the gods acted favorably upon the request of the midwife when she sought a good fate for the new-born, and through her metaphor Puduḫepa adds force to her own request for good health for the king.

Similarly, when the midwife is attested outside of the context of birth—in KBo XII 89 II 12ff. she speaks in Luwian on behalf of a man suffering from an ocular disorder—she is involved with conjuration.²²

This functioning of the midwife as a general incantation priestess must be viewed as an extension of her role as spokesperson for the new-born child. If she showed special talents in securing divine favor for the new-born, her services might also on occasion be employed on behalf of other individuals.

2. The *patili*-priest

Since the title of this ritual practitioner appears in the “Ritual of Papanikri” in the spelling ^{LÚ}PA-ti-li(-), it was at first read by Sommer and Ehelolf as ^{LÚ}patili-, “the Hattic priest,”²³ but this interpretation soon had to be abandoned with the discovery in Bo 4951 (Text Ja) of the writings ^{LÚ}PA-a-ti-li-iš and ^{LÚ}.MEŠBA-ti-li-e-eš.²⁴

The great majority of tablets on which the ^{LÚ}patili- appears are of thirteenth-century date, with a few pieces going back to the fourteenth century;²⁵ no attestations prior to the Empire period are known. That this occupation belongs to the Hurro-Luwian milieu is apparent from an examination of those texts in the present corpus in which it appears—the “Ritual of Papanikri,” Text H, Text J, Text K, and Text T. Also relevant here is the abstract ^{LÚ}.MEŠpa-ti-la-bi-ti=ya, “*patili*-priesthood” (KBo XXVI 88 I 7’), which is a hybrid form derived from a Hurrian *-be*-abstract²⁶ by way of the Luwian *-bi(t)*-suffix.²⁷

It seems that ^{LÚ}patili- remained in a very real sense a “foreign word” for the Hittite scribes. Note the “Akkadographic”²⁸ use of the stem form ^{LÚ}pa-ti-li as a title in the “Ritual of Papanikri” (KBo V 1 I 1 and IV 41), as well as the incorrect employment of the nom.pl. as gen.pl. (ŠA ^{LÚ}.MEŠpa-ti-li-e-eš—KBo V 1

22 The occasion for the speech of the midwife in the fragment XXXIV 97:7 is unclear.

23 See Pap, esp. 57–58.

24 See Ehelolf, OLZ 1929, 322–23.

25 E.g., Text Ha, Text Hb, and XXX 28+.

26 See Bush (1964) § 6.4612.4.

27 See Laroche, DLL § 30, and Carruba, RHA 81, 1967, 151–53.

28 See Pap 1.

II 46²⁹) and as dat./loc.pl. (A-NA ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*pa-ti-li-e-eš*—Text Ha II 44; the dup. Hf has the correct ^{LÚ}*pa-ti-li-ya-aš* in line 5'). In addition, the rare spelling of this word with the initial voiced sign BA is confined to a very small number of texts, namely Text Ja, Text Jb, Text Jc, Text T, and the extremely fragmentary KBo III 62 (7': [^{LÚ}*b*]^{a²}-*ti-li-iš*), and may very well go back to a non-Hittite (i.e., a Hurrian) scribal tradition.

Since a significant proportion of the available textual occurrences of this priest are in birth rituals (see below, GLOSSARY, s.v.), it has been suggested that the very presence of the ^{LÚ}*patili-* in a text possibly indicates a birth.³⁰ That this is not strictly true in all cases, however, is shown by the occurrence of the ^{LÚ}*patili-* in the "Second Military Oath" (XLIII 38 rev. 31—fragmentary context³¹) and in a *Totenritual* (XXX 28 + XXXIX 23—CTH 488³²—*passim*).

In this latter text, a *patili*-priest stands on the roof of a building (a *šinapši*-house³—cf. rev. 4) and calls out the name of the deceased, asking whether he has gone. Six times the *patili*-priest receives an evasive answer from "the gods with whom he (the deceased) finds himself," but upon his seventh inquiry he is told:

an-na-aš-wa-aš-ši [*nu-]wa-ra-an-za*
^{ŠU}^{1A}-*it IŠ-BAT nu-wa-ra-an pí-e-ḫu-te-eš*
 (rev. 11–12)

The mother [came?] to him [and] took him by the hand and led him away.

This response quite likely indicates that a departed person was thought to rejoin his actual physical mother in the afterlife, but it is also possible that a deity is referred to as "mother" here. In this case the "mother" is perhaps the Sun-goddess of the Earth (*taknaš* ⁴UTU), who is mentioned expressly at the beginning of the following paragraph (rev. 14).³³

29 Cf. Sommer and Ehelolf's attempts to explain this difficult passage in Pap 57–58.

30 See Hoffner, JNES 27, 1968, 198, n. 4.

31 See Oettinger, StBoT 22, 20 and 58.

32 See Otten, HTR 94–97.

33 For the Sun-goddess as mother, see Neu, StBoT 18, 125 ff., and Haas, Or ns 45, 1976, 204. Although most available evidence concerning the motherhood of a Sun-goddess refers to the deity ⁴Wurušemu = ⁴UTU ^{URU}Arimma, it does not seem possible to draw an absolute distinction between this deity and the Sun-goddess of the Earth. But note that while the Sun-goddess of the Earth is indeed attested several times in the birth rituals, a special interest in reproduction does not seem to be indicated—see above, p. 54.

But no matter how the question of the identity of the “mother” here is to be resolved, it is certain that death is understood here as a kind of birth. Thus the predominant concern of the *patili*-priest with birth explains his presence in a *rite de passage* marking the transition of an individual from the earthly existence to the afterlife. In the broken context of the “Second Military Oath” it is possible that the *patili*-priest introduces an oath involving the consequence of childlessness as a sanction.³⁴ Thus he would retain here too an indirect connection with his main sphere of activity.

However, a number of other ritual fragments which do not appear to be birth rituals also feature the *patili*-priest, with no indication of any relationship to human reproduction. These are: KBo XVII 67:4'; KBo XVII 69:7', 11', 15'; KBo XVII 70 obv. 2';³⁵ Bo 3860 II 3', 5', 10';³⁶ and the very small 298/u:3'.

Turning to other than strictly ritual texts, we find mention of a purificatory activity of the ^{LU}*patili*- in the oracle collection KBo XXIV 126:

nu-uš-ši ^{LU}*pa-ti-li-iš še-ir aš-ta-ni-ya-i pār-kán-na za-an-ki-la-tar-ra*
IŠ-TU É LUĞAŁ SUM-an-zi (rev. 7')

And on his behalf the *patili*-priest will perform a sin-offering³⁷ – the (offerings of) atonement and contrition will be brought from the house of the king.

In Bo 7953³⁸ col. III, a number of *patili*-priests are said to have transgressed their own rules of conduct (^{LU}^{MES}*pa-ti-li-ya-aš ša-ak-la-a-in* – lines 9'–10') while performing an offering of *harnai*-.³⁹

Finally,⁴⁰ a *patili*-priest by the name of Lullu is mentioned in the administrative document XXVI 66 (with dup. KBo XVIII 153), where he dispenses a sum of silver to a midwife:

34 See above, pp. 3 f., for examples of such curses.

35 The vocabulary of this text is quite similar to that of XXX 28 + – note especially [^{SAL}]KAB.ZU.ZU (obv. 7), ⁶*ši-na-ap-ši* (obv. 1), and ⁶*ha-am-ri* (obv. 19 – cf. ⁶*Ha-am-ri-iš-ha-ra*, passim in XXX 28 +).

36 See Neu, KZ 86, 1972, 289, n. 7. Lines 3' and 5' here feature the spelling ^{LU}*pa-TE-li*-, found elsewhere only at XXX 28 + obv. 14 (^{LU}*pa-a-TE-li-i[š']*).

37 Cf. *aštaniyawar*, “sin” – see Goetze, Tunn 87.

38 This text is of uncertain type. It is a first person report (of a king?) of the discovery and rectification of an offense committed by the *patili*-priests.

39 See above, p. 103.

40 The function of ^{LU}*pa-ti-l[i]*- in the vow fragment KBo IX 96 IV 6' is unclear. Note also the Hieroglyphic Luwian writing of the title *pa-ti-li* on the seal SBo II 149.

III 9. 2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR 1 KIL.LAL Á^{MUSÉN} mUR.MAH.LÚ^a mPu-pu-liš-
ša ħar-kir

10. na-at SAL.LUGAL ka-ru-ú ša-ra-a da-a-aš nu 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR

11. A-NA SAL ħar-na^b-wa-aš^c mLu-ul-lu-uš^{LÚ} pa-ti-liš pi-e-da-aš

UR.MAH.LÚ and Pupuli held two mina of silver (in the form of) one eagle weight, and the queen has already received it. Lullu, the *patili*-priest, sent one mina of silver to a midwife (dup. adds: in the cit[y of ...]).⁴¹

Within the rituals in which he appears, the competence of the ^{LÚ}*patili*- seems to be general—he makes offerings (e.g., Text H § 15'), purifies persons (e.g., Text H § 17'), animals (e.g., Papanikri IV 4) and objects (e.g., Papanikri I 20ff.) and recites speeches (e.g., XXX 28 + rev.). Indeed, in the “Ritual of Papanikri” and in Text H he carries out an extremely wide variety of ritual activities, all of which may be seen as contributing to the achievement of the requisite state of ritual purity by the mother, the birth equipment, or the child. Note only that in the birth texts the *patili*-priest is never involved directly with parturition itself—this function seems to be the preserve of the midwife in Hittite texts.

In conclusion, the ^{LÚ}*patili*- may best be described as a purificatory priest whose chief sphere of activity is that of birth, but whose professional duties are not absolutely restricted to that area.

B. Divine

Numerous deities are mentioned in the Hittite birth rituals,⁴² but only several seem to have had any special connection with the phenomenon of human reproduction and birth. These divinities, all female, include the great goddess

a. dup. rev. 15' inserts GAL[

b. dup. rev. 16' inserts -u-

c. dup. rev. 16' inserts I-NA UR[U

41 On this passage, see Kempinski/Košak, Tel Aviv 4, 1977, 89f. My translation differs from theirs in that I take ^mLulluš ^{LÚ}*patiliš* as a correctly formed nominative and thus the subject of *pedaš*, rather than as a dative conjoined with SAL *ħarnau-waš*. Note that Kempinski and Košak render this latter term as “midwife”—see above, pp. 233f.

42 Some twenty in all—see below, GLOSSARY, sub DIVINE NAMES, and add ^d*Alita-para* and “the deities of the city” from the “Ritual of Papanikri”—see above, p. 117.

Hebat,⁴³ ^dIŠTAR (= Šaušga),⁴⁴ and the pair Zukki and Anzili.⁴⁵ But most importantly we encounter in these texts deities represented by the Sumerogram DINGIR.MAH and by its plural DINGIR.MAH^{MES/HIA}.

The subject of the DINGIR.MAH^(MES/HIA) has been discussed by many scholars, but the most significant contributions to our understanding of this question have been made by Goetze⁴⁶ and by Carruba.⁴⁷ The apparent indifference to grammatical number displayed by the writings of DINGIR.MAH has long been troublesome to researchers and has led Carruba to postulate the *identity* of singular DINGIR.MAH and plural DINGIR.MAH^{MES/HIA}.⁴⁸

This solution of the problem, however, is not entirely satisfactory, for the alternation of singular and plural writings is by no means present to the same extent in all types of texts. Note that mythological compositions feature almost exclusively⁴⁹ the singular DINGIR.MAH. It was through the use of this Sumerogram,⁵⁰ occasionally in alternation with ^dNIN.TU,⁵¹ that the Hittite scribes indicated H¹annaḥanna,⁵² a native Anatolian Mother-goddess and a deity of the first rank. H¹annaḥanna is one of a long series of Anatolian fertility deities, a series which stretches from (at least) the goddess depicted by the

43 See above, p. 173.

44 See above, pp. 222f.

45 See above, pp. 79f.

46 Tunn 55ff.

47 StBoT 2, 28–30.

48 StBoT 2, 29.

49 There are but few exceptions to this generalization. The plural DINGIR.MAH^{MES} is found in the “Song of Ullikummi” Tablet I A IV 14’–15’, but this is in a reference to a birth, the structure of whose narration has simply been borrowed from that of normal human birth. Similarly, the DINGIR.MAH^{MES} appearing in a group of deities in the “Telepinu Myth” (XVII 10 III 31–RHA 77, 1965, 95–96) do not take part in the mythological action, but are merely present within the ritual performed for Telepinu by the goddess Kamrušepa. There can be no doubt that this ritual was taken over bodily from a purificatory rite normally carried out by a human practitioner—note the otherwise inexplicable presence of Telepinu himself in III 32. Finally, two fragments of the “Myth of Hedammu,” XXXVI 57 III 11’ and KBo XIX 113:7’ (Siegelová, StBoT 14, 62) present DINGIR.MAH^{HIA} in contexts too broken to be evaluated. See also below, p. 247.

50 For the Mother-goddess in Mesopotamia, see Edzard in WbMyth I 103–06, and Jacobsen, Or ns 42, 1973, 277–98.

51 See XVII 10 I 29–30, where both Sumerograms are found within two lines.

52 See Laroche, Rech 73, with literature there cited.

figurines of Çatal Hüyük⁵³ to Cybele of Phrygian times and the Ephesian Artemis of the Hellenistic period.⁵⁴

In the myths 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 bestows life⁵⁵ and also appears as the wisest of deities, a personage to whom the other gods turn in time of disaster. For example, when in XVII 10 I 29ff. Telepinu disappears and the fertility of the land is thereby impaired,⁵⁶ and after all other efforts have failed, only the intervention of 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 sets in motion the chain of events which brings about the restoration of the proper functioning of the world. In CTH 334 (RHA 77, 1965, 138–46) 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 herself plays the role of the disappearing god. Finally, CTH 336 (RHA 77, 1965, 147–56), “le mythe d’Inara,” is a fragmentarily preserved composition showing 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 (syllabic spelling⁵⁷ alternating with DINGIR.MAḪ and 𐎶NIN.TU) in several contexts together with the professional designation ^{SAL}UMMEDA, “nurse.”⁵⁸

Other types of texts reveal a strong connection between 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 and agricultural fertility. Note XXV 11 II 12’–13’:

GIM-an-ma ḫal-ki-in I-NA É DINGIR.MAḪ ar-nu-wa-[an-zi]

When they bri[ng] the grain into the temple of 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶

Bo 2526 III² 14’–15’:

[A-NA’] DINGIR.MAḪ EZEN ŠU.KIN.GAḪ’

[] i-ya-an-zi

[For’] 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 they perform [...] the Festival of the Large² Sickle.

and XLVI 17 IV 12:

]x × -li-iš (ŠA) DINGIR.MAḪ EZEN GURUN AŠ UD.3.KAM a-še-ḫa-a-aš
e-eš-ši-iš-ta

53 See Mellaart, AnSt 13, 1963, 93, esp. figs. 31 and 32.

54 See Laroche, “Koubaba, déesse anatolienne et le problème des origines de Cybèle,” in *Éléments orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne* (Paris, 1960), pp. 113–28, and M. J. Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis* (New York, 1977).

55 See KBo X 47c (+) 47e I 4ff. (Hittite Gilgamesh translation) where she is responsible for the creation of Enkidu. An allusion to the creation of humankind by 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 is found in XLI 8 I 20’ff.—see Otten, ZA 54, 1961, 144 (lines I 43’ff. of reconstructed text).

56 See above, p. 1.

57 Outside of this text, the syllabic spelling is found only at KBo VII 58 rev. 1’ and KBo XX 59:13’.

58 See above, pp. 48 f.

On the third day ... carried out ...⁵⁹ the Festival of Fruit (of) Ḫannaḫanna.

These three passages deal with offerings of the first fruits in the presence of Ḫannaḫanna.

It is this important deity of agricultural and human fertility, whose name is *always* written with the singular form of the logogram, who participates in oracles,⁶⁰ who possesses temples,⁶¹ and who is worshipped in various communities throughout Hatti.⁶² It is possible that the “national” DINGIR.MAḪ appeared in a particular form in each of these locations, and that it is several of these local manifestations of Ḫannaḫanna who are mentioned by name in XXXVIII 12 III 9f.:⁶³

3 ALAM DINGIR.MAḪ^{MEŠ} ^dAl-li-na-al-li-iš ^d[
^dI-ya-ya-aš

Three statues of Mother-goddesses: Allinalli, [...] (and) Iyaya

In the birth rituals Ḫannaḫanna appears in a mythological passage in Text A (§ 3), where she receives humankind as her sphere of influence. In addition, the fragmentary Text M seems to show her dispensing boons to the new-born.

Also intimately involved with birth, and probably for this reason indicated by the same logogram, are the *plural* DINGIR.MAḪ^{MEŠ/HI.A}.⁶⁴ The inferior nature of these deities is suggested immediately by the frequent writings of their name utilizing the HI.A plural determinative,⁶⁵ and is confirmed by 2/k rev. 7: 2 TA-PAL DINGIR.MAḪ^{HI.A}, “two pairs of Mother-goddesses.” Arguing from their rather frequent position near the end of god lists, Goetze had already pointed to the relative unimportance of the DINGIR.MAḪ^{MEŠ/HI.A}.⁶⁶

59 *āseha-* is not attested elsewhere—see HW² 395.

60 E.g., in XVIII 45 obv.⁷ 8 and XXII 37 obv. 4’.

61 See KBo X 20 III 42 (JNES 19, 1960, 84).

62 In Šaḫḫaniya (VI 45 II 30; 348/v:3), Parnašša (348/v:9), and Ḫakpiš (XXXII 87 rev. 19; 348/v:11).

63 See Darga, RHA 84, 1969, 9–10.

64 In Egypt the “seven Hathors,” who were fate deities similar to the Hittite *Gułšeš*, seem to have received their designation because some of their functions overlapped with those of Hathor, the great goddess of love, fertility, and death—see Siegfried Morenz, *Untersuchung zur Rolle des Schicksals in der ägyptischen Religion* (Berlin, 1960), pp. 32ff.

65 See Friedrich, HE I² § 336.

66 Tunn 55.

It is in regard to these deities, who are most often found in the company of the ^d*Gul-še-eš*, the Fate-deities,⁶⁷ that the previously mentioned indifference to number is attested.⁶⁸ This is simply a graphic variance, with the *group* of deities being indicated by both the singular and the plural writings.⁶⁹

In this connection we may compare two texts chosen practically at random from the numerous available examples. KBo IX 140 III 14–15:

1 NINDA.KUR₄.RA KU₇-ma *pār-ši-ya na-an A-NA DINGIR.MAH* ^d*Gul-še-eš*
pi-ra-an da-a-i

He breaks one sweet loaf and places it before the Mother-goddess(es) (and) the Fate-deities.

and KBo XIV 142 I 25:

1 NINDA.SIG A-NA ^d*Gul-ša-aš* DINGIR.MAH^{H₁.A}-aš

One thin loaf for the Fate-deities (and) the Mother-goddesses.

Similar offerings to identical deities are certainly indicated here. Note also the alternation of singular and plural writings within a single text—KBo XV 25 obv. 21: DINGIR.MAH; obv. 23: [DINGIR.M]AH^{MEŠ}—and within the duplicates of a single line—Text Za II 7': DINGIR.MAH^{MEŠ}-aš; Text Zb obv. 3': DINGIR.MAH-aš. In regard to form this DINGIR.MAH-aš could be a nom. or gen.sg., but context (*PA-NI* precedes) shows that a dat./loc.pl. is intended.

As stated previously, the DINGIR.MAH^{MEŠ/H₁.A} often accompany the *Gul-šeš*, and the two groups correspond to the Hurrian *Ḫutena Ḫutellura*.⁷⁰ These two groups of goddesses may indeed be of Hurrian origin⁷¹—note that ^d*Gulšaš* DINGIR.MAH stand in a list of Hurrian deities at KBo V 2 II 57–III 16.⁷²

67 A great deal has been written about these divinities. See most recently Otten, RIA III 698. Note especially that singular DINGIR.MAH (= *Ḫannaḫanna*) is seldom found in a context with these deities.

68 See Friedrich, Or ns 33, 1964, 88, where the basic difference between the singular and plural writings of DINGIR.MAH is already clearly stated.

69 In cases where the singular and plural graphic representations are in alternation, the former never shows a complementation in *-n-* which would indicate a reading *Ḫannaḫanna*.

70 See Laroche, JCS 2, 1948, 124–26. Laroche has since abandoned his earlier etymological explanation of the Hurrian divine names—see GLH 111.

71 See Otten, RIA III 698.

72 See already Goetze, Tunn 56, where, however, the citation is given incorrectly as KBo V 2 I 15.

An interesting text from the cult of these goddesses is presented by 232/d (= KBo XXX 4) III' 3'–11':

- 3'. [n]u SAL-za ku-iš ar-ma-u-wa-an-za 3'¹⁷ [NINDA.SIG^{MEŠ}]
 4'. A-NA DINGIR.MAH^{Ḫ¹.A} pār-ši-ya še-e-ra-qš-ša-a[n]
 5'. ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG ^{UZU}ŠÀ ku-ra-an da-a-i [()]
 6'. [š]e-e-ra-aš-ša-an NINDA.Ì.E.DĒ.A me-ma-al [()]
 7'. [i]š-ḫu-u-wa-i nu PA-NI DINGIR.MAH^{Ḫ¹.A} da-a-i [()]

 8'. 3 NINDA.SIG^{MEŠ} ma A-NA ^dGul-aš-ša-aš pār-ši-y[a]
 9'. še-e-ra-aš-ša-an ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG ^{UZU}ŠÀ ku-ra-an]
 10'. da-a-i še-ra-aš-š[a-an NINDA.Ì.E.DĒ.A me-ma-al]
 11'. iš-ḫu-u-w[a-i nu PA-NI ^dGul-ša-aš da-a-i]

And a woman who is pregnant breaks three⁷ [thin loaves] for the Mother-goddesses. Thereupon she places a liver (and) a heart, cooked. And on top she scatters mutton-fat cake (and) meal. And she places (it all) before the Mother-goddesses.

But three thin loaves she breaks for the Fate-deities. Thereupon she places a li[ver (and) a heart, cooked]. And on top she scat[ters mutton-fat cake (and) meal. And she places (it all) before the Fate-deities.]

It is important to note that in line 3' the fact of pregnancy is expressed not through an attributive adjective (i. e., not through *armauwanza* SAL-za) but by means of a subordinate clause (SAL-za *kuiš armauwanza*). This, together with the fact that the pregnant woman here is seemingly introduced only in the third⁷ column of the text lead to the conclusion that she is not the offerant, but that she is acting as a member of the cultic personnel. That is, 232/d is not a fragment of a birth ritual. Rather, it seems that a pregnant woman was particularly well-suited to bring offerings effectively to the Gulšeš and DINGIR.MAH^{MEŠ/Ḫ¹.A}. This relationship could easily have arisen if there was a special connection between these groups of deities and human reproduction.⁷³

Such a connection may be demonstrated without difficulty. In the mythological sphere the DINGIR.MAH^{MEŠ/Ḫ¹.A} and Gulšeš serve as the nurses of Ulli-

73 Examples of affinity between deity and *offering* in Hittite ritual are provided by the preference of female deities for offerings of the female sex—see Kümmel, StBoT 3, 122—and of chthonic divinities for victims drawn from the culturally unclean animals (dog and pig)—see StBoT 3, 152.

kummi,⁷⁴ and Text Z suggests that they were considered to be present at every human birth.⁷⁵

An involvement with the birth of each individual is firmly established by passages from two ritual texts. The first is Bo 3617 (and dups.) II 13'–17',⁷⁶ where the ritual practitioner says to a river:

- 13'. [(z)]i-i[(k-ma-za)] ÍD-aš *pâr-ku-nu-mar* DUMU-la-an-na-aš *b[(u-u-i-du-mar)]*
 14'. [(λ u-)]ša-an-t[(a-r)]a-bi-ša ta-at-ta nu ku-it ku-e-[(da-ni te-iz-z)i]
 15'. [(ba-)]tu-ki-iš-ki-iz-zi na-aš EGIR-pa tu-uk A-N[(A ÍD)]
 16'. [(wa-ap-)]wa-aš-ša ^dGul-aš-ša DINGIR.MAH^{MES} pa-iz-[(zi)]
 17'. [an-t]u-uh-ša-an ku-i-e-eš ša-am-ma-ni-eš-kán-z[(i)]

But you, o river, have taken for yourself the purification, the life of the progeny and procreation⁷. And (if someone) says something to someone (so that it) becomes difficult, then he goes back to you, to the river, and to the Fate-deities (and) the Mother-goddesses, who are continually creating (each) [hu]man.

Here the deities with whom we are concerned are said to be responsible for the very life of each human being.

XLIII 55 II 11–21 records an address directly to these deities:⁷⁷

11. *ka-a-ša-wa ki-e-da-ni ud-da-a-ni-i*
 12. [DINGIR.MAH^{MES}-iš ^dGul-še-eš-ša ku-ut-ru-wa-ab-bu-u-en
 13. [nu ma-]a-an an-tu-uh-ša-aš ku-wa-pi mi-i-ya-a-ri
 14. [nu-u]š-ši a-pi-e-da-ni UD-ti ma-ab-ba-an ^dGul-še-eš-ša¹
 15. [DINGIR.MA]H^{MES}-iš-ša aš-šu-ul gul-ša-an-zi
 16. [] × *ka-a-aš a-pa-a-aš* UD.KAM-za nu-kán ^dGul-še-eš
 17. [DINGIR.MAH^M]^{ES}-iš-ša ki-e-di UD.KAM-ti A-NA LUGAL SAL.LU-
 GAL TI-tar
 18. [] × *tar-{na}* in-na-ra-wa-tar MU.KAM GÍD.DA
 (there follow several lines, some poorly preserved, listing desired boons)
 21. ... *gul-aš-ten*

⁷⁴ See above, p. 49, with n. 112.

⁷⁵ See above, pp. 224f. Although the birth mentioned in this fragment is that of a deity, there is every reason to believe that the circumstances described therein are those of a normal parturition.

⁷⁶ See Otten/Siegelová, AfO 23, 1970, 33, and above, p. 19.

⁷⁷ See AfO 23, 1970, 38, n. 21.

In regard to this matter we have just now summoned as witnesses the [...] Mother-goddesses and the Fate-deities. [And if] a man is at any time born, [then] as the Fate-deities and the Mother-goddesses on that day designate well-being for him—

This is that day! May you Fate-deities and Mother-goddesses designate today life ... strength, long years (and numerous other boons) for the king (and) queen!

This text refers to a different facet of the birth-related activities of the Fate-deities and the Mother-goddesses—namely to their allocation of life-qualities to each person who enters the world.

It is likely that these two functions—the giving of life and the allotting of fate—were originally separate spheres of activity, the former being the responsibility of the DINGIR.MAH^{MEŠ/ĜI.A} and the latter that of the *Gulšeš*.⁷⁸ Only because both groups were present at each birth did their roles become conflated, with both sets of deities together exercising the two functions. Note, in support of this analysis, that there is no mention of the *Gulšeš* in our preserved birth rituals *per se*, while Text K records a series of rites to be performed on behalf of the DINGIR.MAH^{MEŠ/ĜI.A}—at conception, during pregnancy, and after birth. Also, Text L presents the Mother-goddesses in a mythological passage as midwives. It is significant that the offerings presented to both groups of deities in Text Z occur immediately before the birth, when both groups would have been active.

In the later life of an individual one of the group of deities which had brought him to birth was thought to stand in a special relationship to him, an idea somewhat analogous to the Christian concept of “guardian angel.”⁷⁹ Note DINGIR.MAH ŠA^{SAL}ŠU.GI, “the Mother-goddess of the Old Woman,” IBoT II 108:2’; SAL.LUGAL-aš DINGIR.MAH, “Mother-goddess of the queen,” KBo XXIII 72 rev. 30’; DINGIR.MAH ŠA NÍ.TE SAL.LUGAL, “the Mother-goddess of the person of the queen,” Bo 5048 I 17’; and [DIN]GIR.MAH ŠA^{SAL}AMA UTU^{ŠI}, “the Mother-goddess of the mother of His Majesty,” KBo XXIII 72 obv. 12’. Bo 5360, right-hand column, records an address to such a protective deity: (16’) DINGIR.MAH IT-TI SAL.LUGAL *pa-a-i-ši* ...

78 Note here KBo XII 70 + rev.¹ 39–40: DINGIR^{ME.KEŠ} *ša-a ši-im-ma-ti-ka* = ^d*Gul-ša-aš*. See Goetze, JCS 18, 1964, 91, and Kümmel, Or ns 36, 1967, 368. Laroche, JCS 2, 1948, 124–25, also points out that in oracle texts the divine name ^d*Gulšeš* is often interchangeable with the Sumerogram NAM, “fate.”

79 See already Goetze, Tunn 56. For the DINGIR.MAH^{MEŠ/ĜI.A} as “Schutzgottheiten,” see Haas/Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 144–45.

(19') *zi-ik* DINGIR.MAH SIG₅-in *i-ya*, "You go, o Mother-goddess, with the queen ... May you, o Mother-goddess, treat (her) well!"⁸⁰

KBo XXIII 72, a text of the state cult in which offerings are made individually to the DINGIR.MAH of several important persons (see immediately above), as well as collectively A-NA DINGIR.MAH *hu-u-ma-an-da-a-aš* (obv. 20'), "to all the Mother-goddess(es)"—cf. rev. 29': [*h*]u-u-ma-an-du-uš DINGIR.MAH^{HI.A URU} *Ha-at-tu-ša-aš*, "all the Mother-goddesses of Hattuša"—is to be interpreted as documenting an effort to secure well-being for the entire Hittite society through the obtaining of the favor of the protective deity of each and every individual.

It is the undifferentiated mass of these goddesses who receive worship in the state festivals,⁸¹ who are mentioned in god lists,⁸² and for whom a temple is attested.⁸³ As a group they are also often active on behalf of adult individuals in purificatory rituals.⁸⁴

The Hittite name standing behind the logogram DINGIR.MAH^{MES/HI.A} remains unknown, although both Kunušalla⁸⁵ and Darauwa,⁸⁶ which are on occasion attested in conjunction with the Gulšeš in contexts where we are accustomed to finding this Sumerogram, have been proposed. The evidence is not yet conclusive,⁸⁷ however, and it is indeed possible that both terms—and possibly others—designate our deities.

There seems to have been a certain amount of secondary confusion of DINGIR.MAH = H_{anna}hanna and the plural DINGIR.MAH^{MES/HI.A}. In the

80 Note that a single Fate-deity is also on occasion attested as influencing the life of an individual, although this deity does not appear to have been associated intimately and exclusively with the person of that individual. Cf. XXIII 85 rev. 6': [*n*]u-ut-ta ^dGul-ša-aš HUL-ab-da, "and a Fate-deity has done evil to you," and Bo 2931 I 5: [*nu*]-juš-ši HUL-lu-un ^dGul-ša-an kiš-an BAL-ab-bi, "[and] I treat the evil Fate-deity as follows on his behalf:"

81 Cf. especially the texts listed under CTH 646. Note, however, that the local varieties of H_{anna}hanna also appear in such texts, e.g., XXXII 87 rev. 19'–20': DINGIR.MAH^{URU} *Ha-ak-mi-iš-š[a...]* *ú-pa-ti-ya-aš* DINGIR.MAH, "H_{anna}hanna of H_{akpiš} [...] H_{anna}hanna of 'the fief.'"

82 E.g., KBo IV 13 IV 2.

83 II 13 VI 28–29: LUGAL-uš TUš-aš DINGIR^{MES} É^{TIM} DINGIR.MAH^{HI.A} / IŠ-TU GAL 1-ŠU *e-ku-zi*.

84 See CTH 484, KBo XV 25, and XLIII 55.

85 See Friedrich, Or ns 33, 1964, 88.

86 See Carruba, StBoT 2, 30, n. 48.

87 KBo XXIV 101 rev. 6: DINGIR.MAH ^dGul-šu-uš ^dTa-a-ra-w[a], seems to speak against the second suggestion.

offering list XXV 32 I 14' we find the entry 1 SILÁ DINGIR.MAH-*ni* 1 UDU^d *Gul-ša-aš*. The complementation in *-ni* makes it certain that we are to read ^d*Ḫannaḫanni* here in the company of the Fate-deities. A problem is presented by the occurrence in several purificatory rituals⁸⁸ of *wappuwaš* DINGIR.MAH, "Mother-goddess of the river bank," a divinity who is shown by complementation⁸⁹ to be a form of *Ḫannaḫanna*. Is this perhaps a manifestation of an age-old purificatory function of the Anatolian *Ḫannaḫanna*—note her connection with a river bank in XLI 8 I 20'ff.⁹⁰—or is it another example of the transference of characteristics of the alien group of Mother-goddesses to *Ḫannaḫanna*? Note here the association of these deities with the river in Bo 3617 II 13'ff.⁹¹

Finally, an instance of purely graphic confusion is presented by XXXIII 24 I 37'–38':

^dIM-na-aš at-ta-aš ^dGul-ša-aš ^dNIN.TU kat-ta-an pa-it
UM-MA ^dGul-ša-aš ^dNIN.TU-aš ^dIM-na-aš at-ta-aš ku-it-wa ú¹-w[a-aš]

Here ^dNIN.TU, which serves as an allograph of DINGIR.MAH (singular writing *only*) when it stands for *Ḫannaḫanna*, has been employed erroneously in place of (plural) DINGIR.MAH^(MES/ḪI.A), the Mother-goddesses. This passage must therefore be translated:

The father of the Storm-god went down to the Fate-deities (and) the Mother-goddesses'. Thus spoke the Fate-deities (and) the Mother-goddesses': "O father of the Storm-god, why have you c[ome]?"

In summary: DINGIR.MAH and DINGIR.MAH^{MES/ḪI.A} are *not* simply interchangeable writings indicating one and the same deity or group of deities. In the Boğazköy texts we find on the one hand the Anatolian Mother-goddess *Ḫannaḫanna*, whose name is written by means of the singular DINGIR.MAH. This deity is important for both human and agricultural fertility, and, as *wappuwaš* DINGIR.MAH, is active in purificatory rituals. On the other hand, we have a group of lesser Mother-goddess figures, perhaps of Hurrian origin, who are designated by the plural writing DINGIR.MAH^{MES/ḪI.A}. This term, whose

88 E.g., CTH 402 (THeth 2), CTH 409 (Goetze, Tunn), and KBo XI 17. In each of these texts, *only* the singular form of DINGIR.MAH appears.

89 E.g., XXIV 9 IV 9': *wa-ap-pu-u-wa-(aš)* DINGIR.MAH-an-ni; VII 53 + XII 58 I 26: *wa-ap-pu-u-wa-aš* DINGIR.MAH-ni; and KBo XI 17 II 4'–5': *wa-ap-pu-w[a-aš]* DINGIR.MAH-*ni*. See already Jakob-Rost, THeth 2, 84, who errs, however, in regarding *Ḫannaḫanna* as one of the lesser deities.

90 See above, p. 240, n. 55.

91 Quoted above, p. 244.

phonetic correspondence remains uncertain, may also be written defectively as a singular. Thus for the modern philologist there arises confusion with *Hanna-hanna*.⁹² The lesser Mother-goddesses are associated with an individual human being before, during, and after birth, and one of their number seemingly accompanies the individual throughout his lifetime. In festivals and rituals offerings are made to these deities as a group, both as a college of “guardian angels” of the population, and as purificatory divinities of the chthonic type. Some secondary confusion of *Hanna-hanna* and the *DINGIR.MAH*^{MES/UL} is also observable in the Hittite texts.

92 As a rule of thumb, if a text shows only the singular writing, it is likely that *Hanna-hanna* is indicated. An obvious exception is presented by the case of the expressly named protective deities (*DINGIR.MAH ŠA*^{SAL}*ŠU.GI*, etc.).

V. SUMMARY

Hittite Practices Concerning Pregnancy and Birth

In utilizing the evidence of the texts edited in this work to construct a schema of Hittite practice in regard to pregnancy and childbirth, it must be kept in mind that the details of this schema may be related only distantly to what actually took place in the households of the common people.¹ It is quite probable that most women gave birth without elaborate ceremony, either during pregnancy or during parturition—certainly the expenditures entailed in carrying out rituals such as those described in the “Ritual of Papanikri” and in Text K were beyond the means of the ordinary family.

We must also remember that the birth rituals themselves do not present a unified corpus, but rather detail procedures from various population groups,² areas,³ and periods within the history of the Hittite state.⁴ All of these ritual texts were probably brought to the Hittite capital, and in most cases recopied there over the course of years, in order that the knowledge contained in them might be accessible to those practitioners attendant upon the royal family in times of crisis. It was of no consequence that contradictory practices were found in the rituals as a group; what was important was that the experts who aided the ladies of the royal court in problems of reproduction have available to them as much information as possible. Therefore it is doubtful that all of the procedures included in the following outline were carried out in the case of any single pregnancy, even where these procedures are not mutually exclusive.

1 See Hoffner, JNES 27, 1968, 203, where the discrepancy between naming practices as described in mythological texts and actual usage as revealed by the corpus of Hittite personal names is discussed.

2 For example, Text G contains Hattic incantations, while Text H, Text J, and “Papanikri” are derived from Hurrian sources.

3 For example, to judge from the probable location of the cities named in the incantation in Text A (§ 3), this text is of central Anatolian origin, while obv. 38 and rev. 46 of Text K indicate quite clearly a Kizzuwatnaean provenience.

4 For example, Text C and Text H go back to the Middle Hittite period, while Text L is very late in composition.

Pre-parturition

The very entering of a woman into the state of pregnancy could be marked by a special festival performed in honor of the Mother-goddesses (Text K § 14).

During pregnancy, monthly rites might be carried out for these same deities (Text K § 15), and the mother-to-be was subject to certain restrictions in her diet (Text K § 6) and sexual relations (Text K §§ 2, 18). At various times during pregnancy offerings (Text K §§ 2, 3, 19, 23) and purifications (Text K §§ 4, 26) were made, and after a certain point, the woman could be separated from her family for the remainder of her term (Text K §§ 5, 7). It seems, however, that in most cases births occurred in the home.⁵

Prior to delivery an oracle might be sought to determine if the woman was in the proper moral condition to give birth successfully (Text K §§ 21–22), and offerings could be performed to correct the situation if the answer to this inquiry was negative (Text K § 22).

Finally, there were rites to prepare the possessions of the woman (Text K §§ 8, 24), the birth apparatus (Text H, Text K § 25), and the woman herself (Text K § 26) for the act of parturition.

Parturition

The equipment necessary for delivery consisted of two stools and three cushions (Text A §§ 1–2), or of two footstools (Text B § 2') or, in texts of the Hurrian milieu, of the birth-stool (*ḫarnau*-⁶–Text H, Text O, Text U, “Papanikri”; *ḫarauni*-⁷–Text J). If the apparatus sustained damage during labor, this was considered a bad omen, and time permitting, the place of birth was changed (“Papanikri” I 7–11).

Various incantations to aid in delivery are attested: the “Incantation of Crying Out” (Text B § 3'), known only by title, takes its name from a characteristic activity of the mother during parturition⁸ and presumably was held to comfort her in the face of labor pains. The Hattic “Incantation of Blood” (Text G § 1) and “Incantation of the Wind” (Text G § 2) were intended to give aid in event of physical difficulties in delivery. In Text A (§§ 3–4) and Text L

⁵ See above, p. 154.

⁶ See above, pp. 102–04.

⁷ See above, p. 129.

⁸ See above, p. 37.

(§ 1) mythological parallels are adduced to aid in parturition, while Text E (§§ 10''–13'') contains charms to induce the child to leave the body of the mother.

In regard to physical activities, we learn only that a substitute ewe might be brought in for the mother (Text B § 5') and that the new-born child fell into a receiving blanket (Text A § 2).

More elaborate rites which could be carried out at the time of birth were the "Festival of Birth" for the Mother-goddesses (Text K § 16, Text T § 3'²), the "Festival of the Womb" (Text K §§ 12, 30, Text Y), the "Festival of Crying Out" (Text Y), and the "Festival of the Pigeons" (Text Y). These last three festivals were all performed in honor of *IŠTAR*/Šaušga. Unfortunately we learn little about these rites beyond their names.

Finally, Text K § 13 seems to prescribe a period of peace within the family or group of the mother immediately after the birth.

Post-parturition

It is in this area that the weight of the material preserved in the Hittite birth rituals falls. The most widely attested of the rites performed directly following birth is an incantation seeking to remove evil from the new-born and/or to secure a favorable fate for the child (Text B § 10'', Text C §§ 9'–10', 12', Text D § 5', Text L § 2, Text N, Luwian birth rituals⁹).

At this time there might also be performed a ceremony to ensure the continued fertility of the mother (Text B §§ 11''–12''), or a rite to confer the proper sexual role upon the new-born (Text B §§ 11''–12''). A determination of the fate of the child was also possible (Text C § 4, Text E §§ 3'–4'², Text T²).

In addition, we find purificatory rites for the mother (Text C § 6, Text L § 1, Text T § 7''), the birth equipment (Text O², "Papanikri" I 18–57, II 1–6) and the child (Text C §§ 4–5, 10'–11', Text L, Text T § 7''). In this latter instance a very important role is played by washing—see above, pp. 51 f.

These purificatory rites might be performed at various times in the days and months after the child had entered the world—on the second night ("Papanikri" II 5), the fourth night ("Papanikri" col. IV), or the seventh day (Text K §§ 9, 27). Finally, a mother and her male child might participate in a ceremonial reentry into the community after three months had passed (Text K §§ 10, 28, Text U rev.), while a mother and baby girl could undergo this ceremony only after four months (Text K §§ 11, 29, Text U rev.).

⁹ See above, pp. 228–30.

In addition, there seem to have been ritual procedures for the unfortunate possibility that a child should die during, or soon after, birth (Text J §§ 4''–8'').

It is immediately apparent that the great majority of these activities fall into a realm more accurately described as magico-religious than as medical. The exceptions to this generalization are few and mostly uncertain: ¹⁰ Text P possibly prescribes the administration of drugs to a pregnant woman, yet refers to itself in its colophon as an incantation (*ŠI-PÁT*). Text C § 7 speaks of the giving of "fresh medicine" (*bušu wašši*) to the new-born, but the context is not entirely comprehensible. More clearly, Text L § 1 deals with the preparation of a salve and its application to the inner ears of the infant. Finally, the numerous purifications of the child might well have been of hygienic value, and the substance *kunzigannaḫit* ¹¹ often employed in these purifications was possibly a drug.

This preponderant concern with the magico-religious, almost to the exclusion of the medical, sets the group of texts edited here in sharp contrast to available Mesopotamian materials dealing with birth. ¹² Many of these indeed

10 The mention of the birth of a child in the Hittite-language medical text KBo XXI 20 I 27' (DUMU-*an ar-ma-iz-z[i]*) is, as its editor Burde (StBoT 19, 46) has commented, unclear due to its fragmentary context.

11 See above, pp. 129–31.

12 For the convenience of the reader, I present here a list of the Akkadian-language birth texts known to me. While this list is probably incomplete, it does provide us with a corpus of sufficient size and variation for use in comparison with the Hittite material. (Note that none of the large corpus of Lamaštu amulets and incantations has been included.)

AMT 65, 1–2; 66, 4–5, 9; 67, 1.

AO 4425 (unpublished)—see Labat, RIA III 178.

Atrahasis myth I 255–305—for the interpretation of this text as actively concerned with birth, see Moran, *Biblica* 52, 1971, 58, n. 3.

BAM 240 (= KAR 195), 241 (+242³), 243, 244 (incl. KAR 266), 245, 246, 247, 248 (= KAR 196), 249, 250.

Iraq 31, 1969, pls. V–VI.

K 3485 + 10443 (unpublished)—see Civil, JNES 33, 1974, 331.

K 8210 (unpublished)—see Civil, loc.cit.

K 8666 (unpublished)—see Reiner, JNES 26, 1967, 191, n. 15.

K 10507 (unpublished)—see Nougayrol, Ugar V 29, n. 1.

KAR 223—see Ebeling, MAOG V/3, 5–8.

KUB IV 13—see Meier, ZA 45, 1939, 198f.

LKA 9 col. III^f.

LKU 55.

contain magico-religious elements, but the majority also present instructions for the preparation and administration of medications in the form of potions, salves, poultices, enemas, etc. Even “l’Esclave de la Lune” tradition, which as we have seen,¹³ preserves mythological material closely related to Text L, often appears on the same tablet with purely medical instructions.¹⁴

Note also BAM 240 (= KAR 195), an Akkadian text which, with the exception of two intrusive paragraphs of magical material,¹⁵ deals in a strictly medical manner with the treatment of a great variety of difficulties which might arise in connection with pregnancy and delivery. For example, obv. 29’:

DIŠ SAL Û.TU-*ma* SU-*ša bir-di* SI.A DÜR-*ša ma-qit* ^{GIŠ}PA HA.LU.ÚB AŠ Ì ÈŠ
AŠ KAŠ NAG

If a woman has given birth, and her skin is covered with pocks, and her anus has collapsed—(you take) a twig of oak⁷ and smear it in oil. She shall drink (it) in beer.

Among the other problems discussed are cramps of the lower torso (obv. 17’ff.), flatulence (obv. 25’ff.), distress in the lower tract (obv. 34’ff.), and the failure to conceive (rev. 69’f.). Certainly none of the texts concerned with birth and its problems known from the Hittite capital are comparable in their approach.

That this situation is probably not the result of the chance of discovery is suggested by a royal letter, 652/f + 28/n + 127/r, sent by Ramses II of Egypt to Hattušili III, and published by E. Edel. In this communication the Egyptian first refers to an earlier request of the Hittite monarch:

11N-T3—see Civil, JNES 33, 1974, 331–36.

Rm 376—see Lambert, AS 16, 283–88.

RS 17.81—see Nougayrol, Ugar V 29.

STT 98, 284.

TCL VI 49 (= AO 6473)—see Thureau-Dangin, RA 18, 1921, 161–71.

UET VII 123.

VS 17, 34—see van Dijk, Or ns 41, 1972, 339–48.

YOS XI 17 (forthcoming; = YBC 5630)—see van Dijk, Or ns 44, 1975, 53.

YOS XI 86 (forthcoming; = YBC 4603)—see van Dijk, Or ns 42, 1973, 502–07.

YOS XI 88 (forthcoming; = YBC 4602)—see van Dijk, Or ns 41, 1972, 339–40, with n. 4.

13 See above, pp. 186–88.

14 E.g., BAM 248 IV 13ff. and Iraq 31, pls. V–VI, 1–31.

15 That is, obv. 11’–15’ and 61’–63’.

[That which my brother] wrote t[o me concerning] Mata[n]az[i], his [sis]ter:
 “Let my brother send a man, so that medicines might be prepared for her, so
 that she might be caused to give birth!”¹⁶

Ramses then adds his reply:

Look, Matanazi, the sister of my brother—(I), the King, your brother, know
 (of) her. It is said (in your letter) that she is a fifty-year-old. No—she is a sixty-
 year-old! ... No—for a woman who has completed sixty years, it is not possible
 to prepare medicines for her, so that she might still be caused to give birth.¹⁷

The pharaoh concludes by agreeing nonetheless to send the requested expert
 and materials in the hope that divine intervention might bring about a miracle
 in this instance (rev. 6–13).

It is the Hittite attitude which is of interest here. If there were persons at the
 Hittite court expert in the use of medicines for the treatment of gynecological
 problems, they could certainly have informed Hattušili that his hopes in regard
 to the possible fertility of his sister were misplaced.

We are led to conclude that the Hittite practitioners had no real practical
 acquaintance with the use of medicines in gynecology, and thus no under-
 standing of their capacities and limitations. This conclusion, drawn from a text

16 Obv. 8–13 (restorations from Edel, *Ärzte* 68):

8. ... [ša ŠEŠ-ya]
 9. iš-pu-ra a-[na ya-ši aš-šum]
 10. 'Ma-ta-[n]a-z[i NI]N-šu
 11. um-ma-a ŠEŠ-ya li-še-bi-la
 12. LÚ-la₁₂ a-na e-pé-ši U^{MES} a-na ša-a-ši
 13. a-na na-dá-ni a-na a-la-di-ša

For *nadānu* + inf., a syntactic borrowing from Egyptian here replacing the Akka-
 dian *š-stem*, see Edel, *Ärzte* 86, with n. 160.

17 Obv. 16–Rev. 5:

16. a-mur 'Ma-ta-na-zi 'a-ḫa-ti
 17. ša ŠEŠ-ya LUGAL ŠEŠ-ka i-di-ši
 18. um-ma-a ša 50 MU^{MES} ši-i
 19. ya-nu-um-ma ša šu-ši MU^{MES}
 20. ši-i-it ...
 1. ya-nu-um-ma ša ú-ma-al-la
 2. šu-ši MU^{MES} ul i-le-ú-ú
 3. a-na e-pé-ši U^{MES} a-na ša-a-ši
 4. a-na na-dá-ni a-na a-la-di-ša
 5. ap-pu-na-na

of a different type, supports our observations concerning the Hittite rituals dealing specifically with human reproduction. That is, these works exhibit an almost exclusive reliance upon the magico-religious in their efforts to bring about the successful entry of a new human being into the world. They also endeavor to secure for the new-born social and ritual integration into the community, as well as a happy fate.

ADDENDUM

After the completion of this work, Professor Otten provided me with a transcription of the unpublished fragment Bo 2469, made by C.-G. von Brandenstein and checked by H. Ehelolf. This piece is concerned with the activities of several females, probably all members of the royal family. Since the first two paragraphs of col. II deal with offerings and purifications at time of parturition, I present the text here with a short commentary:¹

Bo 2469

-
- x + 1 *nu wa-aš-ta-mu-e-ir na-an har-na-a-i(-) × [*
 2'. *nu DUMU.SAL ku-iš mi-ya-ri nu e-ku²-zi a-pi-e²-[ya²*
SAG.DU-az pa-a-i pa-a-i-ma-āt ku-e-da-ni [pi-di²]
 4'. *na-at-za a-ri-ya-še-eš-šar i-ya-mi nu ma-a-an [*
ēš²i-nap-ši DÜ-mi na-aš ma-a-an a-pi-ya SI × ŠÁ-r[i
 6'. *ma-a-na-aš I-NA ^{URU}Qa-ti-ya-ma SI × ŠÁ-ri*
na-an I-NA ^{URU}Qa-ti-ya pa-a-i

 8'. *UM-MA ^dUTU ^{šL}MA ku-u-un-wa INIM ^tHi-li-eš-du[(-)*
nu-wa AMA-ŠU ku-wa-pi ar-ma-aḥ-ḥa-an-za e-eš-ta nu-[wa(-)
 10'. *DUMU.SAL-ya-wa-kán SAG.DU-an za-az-zi-ta-az ša-an-ḥa-an-[zi*
^{LÜ.MEŠ}pu-ra-ap-ši-iš da-pi-an-te-eš an-da a-ra-an-zi [
 12'. *ta-pár-ri-ya-u-e-ni EGIR-an-da-an ḥa-an-da-an-zi*

A-BU-YA-ya-za ku-it DUMU.SAL-ZU A-NA × ×-YA² ^{SAL}tap-ri-ta-[aš-
ši-ya²]
 14'. *ti-ya-an har-ta nam-ma me-mi- × × × a-pi-ya-pát × [*
ku-iš me-ma-a-i A-NA DINGIR-wa-²ra-aš ^tDa-ni-ti-iš e-eš-ta
 16'. *ku-iš-ma{-wa} me-ma-i A-NA ^dLUGAL-ma-wa-ra-aš ^tDa-ni-ti-iš e-eš-[ta*
-

1 Otten has already quoted lines 2 and 9 in ZA 71, 1981, 216, with n. 5.

-
- § 1' And they regarded (it) as a sin, and her, on the birth-stool [...]
- 2'. Then the female child who is born—she will drink² (i.e., suckle²). The[se offerings²] ...]
- she (the mother) will give personally. But in which [place²] she will give them—
- 4'. that I will make (the object of) an oracular inquiry. And if [...]
- I treat the *šinapši*-house. And if she is instructed by oracle (to give it) there [...]
- 6'. If she is instructed by oracle (to give it) in (the town of) Qatiya, then she will give it in Qatiya.
-
- 8'. Thus says His Majesty: “This word of Hilešdu [I have heard².]
- § 2' While her mother was pregnant, then [...]
- 10'. And they will[l] purify the head of the female child with z., [...]”
- All of the seers² will enter, [and her fate²]
- 12'. we will determine. Thereafter they will set her in order.
-
- § 3' Because my father had installed his daughter as a *t*.-woman for ...
- 14'. further
- One might say “She, Daniti, belonged to a deity,”
- 16'. but another will say “She, Daniti, belong[ed] to Šarruma.”
-

Commentary

II 1'. For the occasional confusion of *ḫarnai*-with *ḫarnau*-, see above, pp. 103f., and for the occurrence of *waštanu*- in a similar context, cf. KBo V 1 (“Papanikri”) I 38ff.

II 6', 8', 10'. The town Qatiya, the woman Hilešdu, and the substance *zazzita*- are all unattested elsewhere. Although a single birth is apparently mentioned in both § 1' and § 2', the role of Hilešdu is not clear. Is she the mother, the newborn child, or the ritual practitioner who speaks in the first person in § 1'?

II 8'ff. It is uncertain if the speech of the king indeed ends with line 10', as I have rendered the passage. Although the quotative particle is not present after the beginning of line 10', it may have been lost at the end of lines 10' and 11', and in any case it is frequently omitted.

II 11'. For ^{LÜ}*purapši*- as the possible reading of ^{LÜ}HAL/AZU, see Gurney, Aspects 45f., with n. 6. For the presence of a seer at birth, cf. Text C obv. 8ff.

II 13'. For ^{SAL}*tapritašši*-, see HW¹, 1.Erg. 20.

II 15'f. Daniti, whose dedication to a deity is discussed here, is almost certainly identical to a woman known from two other religious contexts—the author of the ritual KBo II 20² and the holder of landed property named in KUB XL 2 obv. 39ff., a donation to the temple estates of the goddess Išhara in Kizzuwatna (CTH 641) (*'Da-a-ni-ti(-iš)*).³

2 Goetze, Kizz 70, n. 273 reads line 1: *'Ta-a-ni-ti* ^{SAL}*Ta-[wa-an-na-an-na']*, which is indeed highly uncertain, but a religious office for this woman is nonetheless likely.

3 See Goetze, *op.cit.* 62ff. (text cited as Bo 4889). Add also perhaps unpublished Bo 1583 obv. 6': *'Da-ni-te-iš*.

GLOSSARY

All forms occurring in the birth rituals edited here have been included. However, forms from the duplicate texts have been cited only when they differ from those of the main text, or when they alone have been preserved. Totally and largely restored forms have been omitted in most instances, as have the Hattic vocabulary of Text G and the Luwian words of Text P and the "Luwian Birth Rituals." Words which appear in this corpus only as ideograms have been given in the Akkadogram or Sumerogram section, even when their Hittite readings are known.

For convenience, a recapitulation of the sigla employed for the texts is presented here:

A	KUB XXX 29	CTH 430.1	Kb	KUB XLIV 59	CTH 489.B
B	KBo XVII 62 + 63	CTH 478	L	KUB XLIV 4 + KBo XIII 241 rev.	CTH 520
C	KBo XVII 61	CTH 430.3.B	M	KUB XXX 30	CTH 430.2
D	KBo XVII 60	CTH 430.3.A	Na	KBo XXIV 17	—
E	KBo XII 112	CTH 470	Nb	KUB XXX 43 III 20–22	CTH 276.2
Fa	KUB XXXIII 67	CTH 333.A	O	KBo XXI 45	CTH 500
Fb	KUB XXXIII 36	CTH 333.B	P	KBo VIII 130	CTH 770
Fc	Bo 4861	—	Q	1502/u	—
G	KUB XVII 28 II 1–32	CTH 730	R	1265/v	—
Ha	KUB IX 22	CTH 477.1.A	S	KBo XVII 72	CTH 430.3.C
Hb	ABoT 17	CTH 477.2	T	KUB XLIV 58	—
Hc	KUB VII 39	CTH 477.1.B	U	KBo XXVII 67	—
Hd	KBo XVII 64	CTH 477.3	W	KBo XIV 23	CTH 477.3
He	464/w	—	Ya	KBo VII 74 II 3'–4'	CTH 277.4.B
Hf	Bo 4876	—	Yb	HSM 3644 1'–2'	CTH 277.4.A
Ja	Bo 4951	CTH 477.4.A	Za	KBo XXIV 5	—
Jb	KBo XVII 68	CTH 477.4.B	Zb	KBo XXIV 6	—
Jc	VAT 6212	CTH 477.4.C			
Ka	KBo XVII 65	CTH 489.A			

Addendum:	He	464/w = KBo XXX 1
	Q	1502/u = KBo XXX 2
	R	1265/v = KBo XXX 3

HITTITE

-a	“but”	C rev. 9’
-a/-ya	“and, also; but” word-connecting	B I 2’, IV 8’; E rev. 1’; Fa IV 13; Ha II 6, 8, 20, 36, 44; Hb II 9; Hc 7’; Jc obv. 4’(?); Ka obv. 14, 16, 20, 21, 24, 40, 41, 46, 53, 54, rev. 6, 12, 14, 15, 16, 28, 48, 58, 63, edge 2; Kb obv. 8’ (2×); U rev. 6, 9
	sentence-connecting	A obv. 6, 11, 12, 13; B IV 9’; C obv. 4; D obv. 7, 10; E obv. 11’, 14’, rev. 12’, 15’; Fa I 19’, 23’, IV 28; Fc obv. 16’; Ha II 10, 25, 26, III 17, 25, 33, 40; Hb II 1, III 11’; Hc 2’; Hd 5’; Ja rev. 8’, 13’; Jc rev. 2’; Ka obv. 1, 9, 11, 16, 22, 40, 48, rev. 9, 10, 12, 18, 23, 33, 36, 59, edge 7; Kb obv. 6’, 7’, 8’, rev. 4; O I 14’, 15’; Q 10’, 15’; R I 11’; U rev. 2
-a-	encl.pers.prn., 3 prs. -aš(-) nom.sg.c.	C obv. 13, 14; Fa I 32’, IV 7, 16, 20, 21; Fb II 3; G II 7; Ha II 34, 35, III 2 (2×), 8, 20, 25, 33, 35, 36, 40 (2×), 41; Hb II 4, III 3’, 8’, 10’, 11’; Hd 10’; Jc obv. 1’(?); Ka obv. 1, 2, 15, 38, rev. 1, 12, 39, 45, 46, edge 5 (2×), 8; Kb obv. 7’; L rev. 5, 7; M obv. 5’, 7’; O I 3’, 17’; Q 17’; R I 8’(?); U rev. 7
	-an(-) acc.sg.c.	B I 17’, 20’, 26’; C obv. 13, 15; D obv. 8; E obv. 9’, 11’, 13’, rev. 5’; G II 8; Ha II 17, 32, 43, III 31; Hb III 15’; Ja rev. 7’, 8’; Ka obv. 14, 39, 42, rev. 64, edge 6; L rev. 8 (2×?), 28; P III 8’; Q 11’; R IV 3’; Za II 11’

	-at(-) nom./acc.sg.n.	B IV 11', 12'; Fc obv. 19'; Ka rev. 35, 42; Kb obv. 6'; L rev. 10; M obv. 9'; P II 5; U rev. 12
	-ši(-) dat./loc.sg.	A obv. 14; B I 7'; C obv. 20, 21, 23, 24; D obv. 10; E obv. 9', rev. 10'; Fa I 16', 18', 19', 30'; Ha II 25, 26, III 6, 14, 17, 27; Ka obv. 14, 17, 23, rev. 3, 11, 12, 14, 15, 18, 26, 51, 52, 53, 57, 63, 64, edge 2; Kb obv. 3', 7'; L rev. 6, 7, 11, 33; P II 5; U rev. 7; Za II 12'
	-še-	C obv. 18
	-aš(-) nom.pl.c.	L rev. 28(?)
	-at(-)	Ha II 37, 45; L rev. 25
	-uš acc.pl.c.	L rev. 5
	-aš(-)	Ha III 18, 19; Ka obv. 48, 49; L rev. 27; T II 9' (?)
	-at(-) nom./acc.pl.n.	B I 27'; C rev. 5'; D obv. 3; Fa I 9', 10'; Ha II 23, 24, 45, III 14, 15; Ka obv. 7, 13, 45, rev. 10, 22, 29, 59, edge 2; L rev. 14 (2×), 17 (3×), 25
	-(a)š-ma-⟨aš⟩ dat./loc.pl.	Ka obv. 22
	-(u)š-ma-aš	Ka obv. 45, 53]
NINDA	a-a-an n.	"hot loaf" nom./acc.pl. NINDA a-a-an-ta Ka rev. 21
ak-	"die" prs.3.sg. a-ki	Ja rev. 6', 17'
ammiyant-	adj. - "small, weak" acc.pl.c. am-me-ya-an-du-uš gen.pl.c. [am-me-y]a-an-da-aš	E obv. 16' E obv. 15'
anna- c.	"mother" acc.sg. an-na-an dat./loc.sg. an-ni(-) AMA	L rev. 15 E rev. 12' Fa IV 13; L rev. 9; T III 7'
anku	adv. - "definitely" an-ku	Za II 10'
anda	adv. - "in, into" an-da	C rev. 10'; E obv. 6', 7', 9'; Ha II 25, III 14; Hb II 10; Hc 8',

(anda)

as preverb:

anda au(š)-

ḥar(k)-

išḥai-

išḥuwai-

kiš-

mema-

pai-

peḥute-

peššiya-

peda-

šanḥ-

dai-

tiya-

warnu-

andan

adv. – “in” *an-da-an*

antuhša- c.

“human being” acc.sg.

an-tu-uḥ-ša-an

gen.sg. UN-aš

antuwahḥa- c.

“human being” nom.sg.

an-tu-wa-aḥ-ḥa-aš

apa-

prn. – “that” nom.sg.c.

*a-pa-a-aš**a-pa-a-ša*acc.sg.c. *a-pu-u-un*[*a-pu-*]un(!?)nom./acc.sg.n. *a-pa-a-at*gen.sg. *a-pí-e-el**a-pí-el*dat./loc.sg. *a-pí-e-da-mi*13'; Ja rev. 6'; Ka obv. 28, 32,
38, 49, rev. 10, 18, 31; L rev.
15; O I 10'; Zb obv. 11'

E obv. 11'

Za II 11'

Fa I 5'; Ha II 8, 23, III 13

Fa I 8'

U rev. 11

B I 24'; Ka obv. 13, rev. 35

E rev. 6'; Ha II 48

Ha II 17, III 1, 32, 39

Ka rev. 33

D obv. 2

Ka rev. 36

Ka obv. 12, rev. 34

Fa IV 7

Ka obv. 25, rev. 29

B I 21'; C obv. 7; E rev. 10';
Ha II 4; L rev. 5

P II 4

E obv. 11'

Ka edge 6

E obv. 11'; Ha III 17]; Ka rev.
11]; O I 9'; U rev. 9

Fa IV 27; Kb obv. 3' [

B I 22'; P II 4

B I 25'

A obv. 16; Ka obv. 46, rev.
16, edge 3; U rev. 11

Hc 6'

C obv. 21

B I 16'; Hb II 2; Ja rev. 11';
Ka obv. 52], rev. 19, 38; Kb
obv. 13' [

	abl.sg. <i>a-pí-e-iz</i>	Ka obv. 31], 34], 39, 53, rev. 43], 46
	nom./acc.pl.n. <i>a-pí-e</i>	Ka obv. 16], 33]
	dat./loc.pl. <i>a-pí-e-da-aš</i>	B I 16'; D obv. 2; Ka rev. 31, 32]
<i>appa</i>	adv. –“back; again”	
	<i>a-ap-pa</i>	E rev. 7'
	EGIR- <i>pa</i>	Fa I 29'[, Ka obv. 2, 14, 42, 44; L rev. 10; O I 17', II 11'; Q 5'
	EGIR	R I 3'
	as preverb:	
	<i>appa pašk-</i>	Fb II 1
	<i>šiya-</i>	Q 5'
	<i>da-</i>	Ka rev. 29
	<i>dai-</i>	Za II 6'
	<i>uwa-</i>	Ha III 24
	<i>waḫmu-</i>	L rev. 25, 34
<i>appan</i>	adv. –“back; later”	
	EGIR- <i>an</i>	Fa I 18'[, IV 5, 6; Ka edge 5, 7; U rev. 9; Za II 13'
<i>appanda</i>	adv. –“behind; thereafter”	
	EGIR- <i>an-da</i>	Fc obv. 13' (2×); Ka rev. 7; O I 6'
	[EGI]R-ŠU	Fc obv. 10'
	EGIR-ŠÚ	Fa I 11'; Hd 3'[(?)
<i>apadda</i>	adv. –“thither; thereby”	
	<i>a-pát-ta</i>	C obv. 16
	<i>a-pád-da</i>	Ka rev. 26; L rev. 11
	<i>a-pa-at-ta</i>	E rev. 8'
<i>appe/izzi-</i>	adj. –“last; latter; rear”	
	nom./acc.sg.n. <i>a-ap-pí-iz-zi</i>	Fa I 30'
	dat./loc.sg. <i>a-ap(!)-pí-iz-zi</i>	Fa I 10'
	abl./inst.sg. <i>ap-pí-iz-zi-az</i>	B I 7'[(?); Fa I 31'
	dat./loc.pl. <i>ap-pí-iz-zi-ya-aš</i>	Za II 9'
	adv. –“behind” EGIR- <i>az</i>	R I 8'

<i>apiya</i>	adv. – “there” <i>a-pi-ya</i>	Ka obv. 45; T III 6’
<i>ar-</i>	“come” prs.3.sg. <i>a-ri</i>	Ha III 21; Ka rev. 22
<i>ar-</i>	“stand” M.prs.3.sg. <i>ar-ta</i>	C obv. 15
<i>ara n.</i>	“correct thing” nom./acc.sg. (UL) <i>a-a-ra</i>	Ka obv. 14, 17
<i>arra-</i>	“wash” prs.3.sg. <i>a-ar-ri</i> <i>ar-ri</i>	Ha II 16, III 29 Jc obv. 7’
<i>arai-</i>	“inhibit” M.prs.3.sg. <i>a-ri-it-ta</i>	G II 2
<i>arəḥza</i>	adv. – “outside” <i>a-ra-aḥ-za</i>	D rev. 7’; Ha II 5], 41, III 36[
<i>arəḥzena-</i>	adj. – “outer” dat./loc.sg. <i>a-ra-aḥ-zé-ni</i> term.sg.(?) <i>a-ra-aḥ-zé-na</i>	Hb III 11’ Hd 5’
<i>ar(a)š-</i>	verb – meaning unknown prs.1.sg. <i>a-ar-aš-mi</i>	D obv. 3
<i>arḥa</i>	adv. – “away” <i>ar-ḥa</i>	B I 26’; Ka obv. 53, rev. 25; O I 7’; Q 1’(?), 2’, 6’; S 4’
	as preverb:	
	<i>arḥa arra-</i>	Jc obv. 7’
	<i>ed-</i>	L rev. 29
	<i>ḥappešnai-</i>	C rev. 22’
	<i>kappuwai-</i>	Ka obv. 34, rev. 40, 43; Kb rev. 1
	<i>pai-</i>	Ha II 46, III 28
	<i>piran arḥa kuer-</i>	Ha II 11[(?)
	<i>piran arḥa šipant-</i>	Ka obv. 7, rev. 9
	<i>arḥa da-</i>	C obv. 21; Ha III 14
	<i>tarna-</i>	B I 27’; Na obv. 1’
	<i>awan arḥa tiya-</i>	L rev. 16
	<i>arḥa duwarnai-</i>	Q 11’
	<i>uppa-</i>	Ka obv. 54
	<i>šer arḥa wahnu-</i>	C obv. 9, 18
	<i>arḥa warnu-</i>	C obv. 19, rev. 24’; O I 15’
	<i>piran arḥa warnu-</i>	C rev. 24’; Ka rev. 19

<i>arḫayan</i>	adv. – “separately” <i>ar-ḫa-y[a-an]</i>	B I 13’
<i>arki-</i> c.	“testicle(?)” nom.pl. <i>ar-ki-i-e-eš</i>	C rev. 15’
<i>armahḫ-</i>	“make or become pregnant” prs.3.sg. <i>ar-ma-aḫ-ḫi</i> verbal sub.gen.sg. <i>ar-ma-aḫ-ḫu-wa-aš</i> <i>ar-ma-aḫ-ḫu-aš</i>	Ka obv. 1, 44, rev. 1] Na rev. 2’ Ka obv. 6
<i>armai-</i>	“be/become pregnant” prs.3.sg. <i>ar-ma-a-iz-zi</i> <i>ar-ma-iz-zi</i>	E obv. 13’ L rev. 1; P III 7’[(?)
<i>armauwant-</i>	adj. – “pregnant” nom.sg.c. <i>ar-ma-u-wa-an-za</i>	B I 19’[; Ka obv. 47
<i>arnammi-</i>	verb – meaning unknown prs.3.sg. <i>ar-na-am-mi-it-ti</i>	Ja rev. 12’
^Ē <i>arzana-</i> c.	“inn” dat./loc.pl. ^Ē <i>ar-za-na-aš</i>	Ka rev. 25
<i>aš-</i>	“remain” prs.3.sg. <i>a-aš-zi</i> prs.3.pl. <i>a-aš-ša-an-zi</i> prt.3.sg. <i>a-aš-ta</i> ppl.nom.sg.c. <i>a-aš-ša-an-za</i>	O II 9’ Ka rev. 3, 27 A obv. 14, 15 Ka obv. 30, rev. 40]
<i>ašapši</i> (Hurr.)	[<i>a-š</i>]ap(!)- <i>ši-ya</i>	T obv. 11’
<i>ašeš-</i>	“place; set up” prs.3.pl. <i>a-še-ša-an-zi</i>	Ka obv. 49
<i>aška-</i> c.	“gate” dat./loc.sg. <i>a-aš-ki</i>	Ka rev. 21; L rev. 5
<i>ašma</i>	interj. – “lo!” <i>a-aš-ma</i>	L rev. 25
<i>ašnu-</i>	“prepare; complete” prs.3.sg. <i>aš-nu-uz-zi</i> <i>aš-nu-zi</i>	Ka rev. 13 Ka rev. 8, 11
<i>aštuwar</i> n.	a foodstuff nom./acc.sg. <i>a-aš-ta-u-wa-ar</i> <i>aš-ta-u-wa-ar</i>	Ka obv. 17 Ka obv. 19 (2×)

-(a)šta	sentence-particle <i>na-aš-ta</i>	C obv. 17, rev. 8'; D obv. 1; Fa I 7'; Ha II 48, III 1, 11, 39; Hb III 13'; Hc 5', 6'; Ka obv. 25, 27, 35, 40, rev. 21, 22, 27, 31, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 44; Zb rev. 5'
	<i>nu-uš-še-eš-ta</i>	C obv. 18
<i>aššu-</i>	adj. – “good” nom./acc.sg.n. <i>a-aš-šu</i>	Ka obv. 55, rev. 26 (2×), 64
<i>aššu-</i> n.	“good, possession” nom./acc.sg. <i>a-aš-šu-u</i>	B IV 14', 15', 17', 18'
<i>aššul</i> n./c.	“well-being” nom./acc.sg. <i>a-aš-šu-ul</i>	M obv. 10'
<i>au(š)-</i>	“see” prs.3.sg. <i>a-uš-zi</i> prs.3.pl. <i>ú-wa-an-zi</i> prt.2./3.sg. <i>a-uš-ta</i> imp.3.sg. <i>a-uš-du</i> inf. <i>ú-wa-an-[na]</i> dur.prs.3.sg. [<i>uš-</i>] <i>ki-iz-zi</i>	E obv. 11'; P III 8' Ka obv. 42 C rev. 9'; L rev. 9 L rev. 30, 31, 32 Ka rev. 18 Fa IV 27
<i>awan</i>	intensifying preverb <i>a-wa-an</i> <i>awan arḥa tiya-</i> <i>awan katta da-</i>	Fa I 19' L rev. 16 Ka rev. 56
<i>ekt-</i> c.	“net” nom.sg. <i>e-ik-za</i>	C obv. 17
<i>eku-</i>	“drink” prs.1.sg. <i>e-ku-mi</i> prs.3.sg. <i>e-ku-zi</i> inf. <i>a-ku-wa-an-na</i> <i>a-ku-an-na</i> NAG	Fa IV 17 T II 1' Ha III 27; P II 3 Ka edge 3, 5 C obv. 26; Fa I 2'
<i>eni-</i>	anaphoric prn. nom./acc.sg.n. <i>e-ni</i>	L rev. 9
<i>ep-</i>	“seize; grasp” prs.3.sg. <i>e-ip-zi</i> prs.3.pl. <i>ap-pa-an-zi</i> prt.3.sg. <i>Iṣ-BAT</i>	Ha III 17; Q 13' O I 14'; U obv. 7', rev. 8 Fb II 5 (2×)

	imp.2.sg. <i>e-ip</i>	D rev. 9'
	dur.prs.1.sg. <i>ap-pí-iš-ki-mi</i>	C rev. 10'
<i>eš-</i>	"be" prs.3.sg. <i>e-eš-zi</i>	A obv. 18; Fa I 14'; Ha II 4; Ka obv. 21, rev. 16, 25; Kb obv. 7'; U rev. 1
	prt.3.sg. <i>e-eš-ta</i>	L rev. 17
	imp.3.sg. <i>e-eš-tu</i>	B IV 11'[, 12'; Fc obv. 19'[(?)
<i>eš-</i>	"sit; be seated"	
	M.prs.3.sg. <i>e-ša-ri</i>	B I 3'; Ha II 35, III 6; Ka obv. 2, rev. 1, 54
	<i>e-ša</i>	A obv. 6
	M.prs.3.pl. <i>e-š[a-an-ta-ri]</i>	B I 8'
	M.prt.3.sg. <i>e-ša-at</i>	A obv. 10]; Fc obv. 4', 5'[,
<i>ešḫaniya-</i>	adj. – "bloody; blood-red"	
	nom./acc.sg.n. <i>e-eš-ḫa-ni-ya</i>	L rev. 2
<i>ešḫar</i> n.	"blood"	
	nom./acc.sg. <i>e-eš-ḫa-ar</i>	G II 2
	gen.sg. <i>e-eš-ḫa-na-aš</i>	G II 1
	ÚŠ- <i>aš</i>	L rev. 3 (3 ×)
<i>ed-</i>	"eat"	
	prs.1.sg. <i>e-it(!)-mi</i>	Fa IV 17
	prs.3.sg. <i>e-iz-za-zi</i>	Ka obv. 17[, 18], 19, 23, rev. 20
	prs.3.pl. <i>a-da-an-zi</i>	Ja rev. 18'
	prt.1.sg. <i>e-du-un</i>	Fb II 12
	imp.2.sg. <i>e-iz-za</i>	L rev. 29
	inf. <i>a-da-an-na</i>	Ha II 45; Ka obv. 17[, rev. 12; Kb obv. 4'
	dur.prs.3.sg. <i>az-zi-ki-i[z-zi]</i>	Ka obv. 18
<i>ḫalḫaltumari-</i> c./n.	"corner"	
	<i>ḫal-ḫal-tu-u-ma-ri(-)×</i>	Hc 1'
<i>ḫali-</i> n.	"watch (period of time)"	
	dat./loc.pl. <i>ḫa-a-[i-ya-aš(?)]</i>	Za II 9'
<i>ḫallu-</i>	adj. – "deep"	
	dat./loc.pl. <i>ḫal-lu-u-wa-aš</i>	Na obv. 5'

<i>ḫaluga-</i> c.	“report” nom.sg. <i>ḫa-lu-ga-aš</i>	Fa IV 15
<i>ḫalzai-</i>	“cry, shout” prs.3.sg. <i>ḫal-za-a-i</i> prt.3.sg. <i>ḫal-za-iš</i> inf. <i>ḫal-zi-ya-u-an-zi</i>	Ha III 26; Ka obv. 14 Fb II 11 (2×) Ka edge 6[(2×)
<i>ḫamank-</i>	“bind” prs.3.sg. <i>ḫa-ma-an-ki</i> ppl.nom./acc.sg.n. <i>ḫa-ma-an-kán</i>	E obv. 6', 7', 9'; Ha II 27 Fa I 15'
<i>ḫanešš-</i>	“whitewash” ppl.nom./acc.pl.n. <i>ḫa-ni-iš-ša-an-ta</i>	Ka rev. 10
<i>ḫandai-</i>	“prepare” prs.3.sg. <i>ḫa-an-da-a-iz-zi</i> prs.3.pl. <i>ḫa-an-da-a-an-zi</i> ppl.nom.sg.c. <i>ḫa-an-da-a-an-za</i> ppl.nom./acc.sg.n. <i>ḫa-an-da-a-an</i>	A obv. 1; M rev. 2'[(?) B I 15' B I 19' B I 17'; C rev. 11'
<i>ḫantezzi(ya)-</i>	adj. – “front” nom.sg.c.(?) IGI(?) - <i>ya-aš</i> (?) nom./acc.sg.n. <i>ḫa-an-te-iz-zi</i>	L rev. 13 Fa I 31'
<i>ḫanti-</i>	adj. – “separate” nom./acc.sg.n. <i>ḫa-an-ti</i>	Ka obv. 13, 45, 46, rev. 35
<i>ḫappešnai-</i>	“cut up” prs.1.sg. <i>ḫa-ap-pí-iš-na-mi</i>	C rev. 22'
<i>ḫabi</i> (Hurr.)	offering term <i>ḫa-a-pí-ya</i>	Ha II 19[
<i>ḫarauni-</i> c.	“birth-stool” acc.sg. <i>ḫa-ra-ú-ni-in</i> <i>ḫa-ra-ú-(ni-)in</i> dat./loc.sg. <i>ḫa-ra-a-ú-ni</i>	Ja rev. 8' Jb 6'; Jc rev. 2' Ja rev. 6', 16']
<i>ḫari-</i> c.	“valley” dat./loc.pl. <i>ḫa-a-ri-ya-[aš]</i>	Na obv. 5'
<i>ḫari</i> (Hurr.)	offering term – “path(?)” <i>ḫa-a-ri-ya</i>	Hb II 13

<i>ḫar(k)-</i>	“have; hold”	
	prs.3.sg. <i>ḫar-zi</i>	A obv. 7; L rev. 26
	prs.3.pl. <i>ḫar-kán-zi</i>	B I 17'; Ka obv. 48; Za II 11'
	prt.3.sg. <i>ḫar-ta</i>	L rev. 4 (2×)
	imp.3.sg. <i>ḫar-du</i>	C rev. 21'
	imp.2.pl. <i>ḫar-ten</i>	B IV 6' (2×)
<i>ḫarnai- c.</i>	a substance	
	nom.sg. <i>ḫar-na-a-iš</i>	Hc 5'
	acc.sg. <i>ḫar-na-a-i-in</i>	Ha II 20], 28
	<i>ḫar-na-a-in</i>	Hb II 15; Ka obv. 11
	<i>ḫar-na-in</i>	Ha II 31
<i>ḫarnau-/ḫarnu- c./n.</i>	“birth-stool”	
	acc.sg. <i>ḫar-na-ú-un</i>	Hb II 9
	gen.sg. <i>ḫar-nu-wa-aš</i>	Ka obv. 15
	dat./loc.sg. <i>ḫar-na-a-ú-i</i>	Ha II 33, 34, 38, 49, III 2, 31, 33, 37, 39, 40, IV 5]; O I 5'; U rev. 1
	<i>ḫar-na-ú-i</i>	Hb II 12, III 8', 11' [
	<i>ḫar-na-u-[i]</i>	Hb III 6'
	<i>ḫar-nu-u-i</i>	Ka obv. 2], rev. 1, 31
	[<i>ḫar-na-a-ú</i>	Hf 10'
	acc.pl. ^a <i>ḫar-na-a-ú-uš</i>	Ha II 40
<i>ḫarnuwašši-</i>	adj. – “of the birth-stool”	
	dat./loc.pl.	
	<i>ḫar-nu-wa-(aš-)ši-aš</i>	Ka obv. 49
<i>ḫaršani- c.</i>	“head”	
	acc.sg. <i>ḫar-ša-a-ni-in</i>	L rev. 12
<i>ḫaš-</i>	“give birth; beget; cause to be born”	
	prs.3.sg. <i>ḫa-a-ši</i>	A obv. 1; B I 21'[, IV 19'; D obv. 1[, rev. 12'; G II 1[, 7; Ka obv. 51, rev. 45]; Kb obv. 12'; R IV 2'[(?); Zb obv. 9'
	<i>ḫa-aš-ši</i>	Ka obv. 37
	prt.1.sg. <i>ḫa-a-aš-ḫu-un</i>	C obv. 11
	ppl.gen.sg. <i>ḫa-aš-ša-an-ta-aš</i>	Ka rev. 38

a. but see above, p. 110.

<i>hašša- c.</i>	“hearth; brazier” acc.pl. <i>ha-a-aš-šu-uš</i>	E rev. 11’
^{GIŠ} <i>haššalli- n.</i>	“stool” nom./acc.sg. ^{GIŠ} <i>ha-aš-ša-al-li</i>	Ka obv. 24]
<i>haššant- c.</i>	“new-born child” gen.sg. <i>ha-aš-ša'-an-da-aš</i> <i>ha-aš-ša-an-ta-aš</i>	Kb obv. 13’ Ka obv. 27[
<i>hašantalli-</i>	adj. – “pertaining to the new-born” gen.sg. <i>ha-ša-an-ta-{ra-}al-li-ya-aš</i>	Ka obv. 52
<i>haššatar n.</i>	“womb” gen.sg. <i>ha-aš-ša-an-na-aš</i>	C obv. 1]; Ka rev. 45; Kb rev. 7]; Ya II 4’
(SAL) <i>hašauwa- c.</i>	“old woman; ritual practitioner” nom.sg. ^{SAL} <i>ha-a-ša-u-wa-aš</i> <i>ha-a-ša-u-wa-aš</i> ^{SAL} <i>ha-ša-u-wa-aš</i> gen.pl. ŠA ^{SAL-MEŠ} ŠU.GI	C obv. 20](?), rev. 9’ Nb III 20 Na rev. 1’ Ka rev. 7
(SAL) <i>haš(ša)nupalla- c.</i>	“midwife” nom.sg. ^{SAL} <i>ha-aš-nu-up-pa-al-la-aš</i> ^{SAL} <i>ha-aš-nu-pa-al-l[a-aš]</i> <i>ha-aš-nu-pa-al-la-aš</i> ^{SAL} <i>ha-aš-nu-pa-al-la-ša</i> ^{SAL} ŠA.ZU nom.pl. ^{SAL-(MEŠ)} ŠA.ZU ^{SAL-MEŠ} ŠA.ZU ^{TIM} ? ^{SAL} <i>ha-aš-ša-nu-p[al-la-</i>	C obv. 10, 11 M rev. 4’ A obv. 1 A obv. 6 B I 23’, IV 13’, 20’; Fa I 21’, 24’; L rev. 27; Q 13’; R IV 4’[L rev. 11 B I 8’, IV 23’[S 2’
<i>hattai-</i>	“strike” prs.3.pl. <i>ha-at-ta-an-zi</i>	Ka obv. 40
^{GIŠ} <i>hatalkešna- c.</i>	a tree dat./loc.pl. ^{GIŠ} <i>ha-tal-ki-eš-na-aš</i>	Fc obv. 5’
^{GIŠ} <i>ha-tal'-g[a²-</i>	a wood(?)	R I 5’

<i>ḫat(ta)reššar</i> n.	“crossing” dat./loc.pl. <i>ḫa-at-ta-ri-eš-na-aš</i> [<i>ḫa-at-ta-r</i>]i-ša-na-aš <i>ḫa-at-ri-[eš-ša(?)·n]a(?)·aš</i> <i>ḫa-at-ri-eš-na-aš</i>	Hb III 14’ Hd 8’ Ha III 44 Ha III 20
<i>ḫatuga-</i>	adj. – “terrible, awesome” nom.sg.c. [<i>ḫa-d</i>]u-ga-ša	A obv. 12
<i>ḫazzuwani-</i> c.	“lettuce” nom.sg. <i>ḫa-az-zu-wa-ni-iš</i>	C obv. 25
^{NA4} <i>ḫekur</i> n.	“rock sanctuary” nom./acc.sg. ^{NA4} <i>ḫé-kur</i>	B IV 2’, 4’, 7’
<i>ḫeššammi-</i> (Hurr.)	<i>ḫi-iš-ša-[am-mi-ši-ya]</i>	T II 11’
<i>ḫeu-</i> c.	“rain” nom.sg. <i>ḫé-e-[uš-š]a</i>	B IV 8’
<i>ḫuek-</i>	“conjure” prs.1.sg. <i>ḫu-uk-mi</i> <i>ḫu-ik-mi</i> prs.3.sg. <i>ḫu-u-uk-zi</i> <i>ḫu-uk-zi</i> dur.prs.2.sg. <i>ḫu-uk-ki-iš-ki-ši</i> dur.prs.3.sg. <i>ḫu-uk-ki-iš-ki-iz-zi</i>	G II 3, 8[C rev. 7’ E obv. 13’ L rev. 18 A obv. 8 B I 10’, 12’; P II 8
<i>ḫuek-</i>	“slaughter” prs.3.pl. <i>ḫu-u-kán-zi</i>	T II 9’
<i>ḫuimu-</i>	“cause to run, trail” prt.3.sg. <i>ḫu-i-nu-ut</i>	Fb II 2, 3
^{GI8} <i>ḫuinpa-</i> c.	“floorboards(?)” acc.sg. ^{GI8} <i>ḫu-in-pa-an</i>	Fb III 4’
<i>ḫuišu-</i>	adj. – “living; fresh” nom./acc.sg.n. <i>ḫu-i-šu</i>	C obv. 23
<i>ḫuišwant-</i>	adj. – “living; fresh” nom.sg.c. <i>ḫu-iš-wa-an-za</i> acc.sg.c. <i>ṬI-an</i> nom./acc.sg.n. <i>ṬI-an</i>	C obv. 5 L rev. 14 B IV 6’, 12’

<i>hwišwatar</i> n.	“life” nom./acc.sg. <i>TI-tar</i> gen.sg. <i>hu-iš-wa-an-na-aš</i>	B IV 1’; D rev. 10’; Fa IV 28; Fc obv. 16’ C obv. 14
<i>hukmai-</i> c./n.	“conjunction” gen.sg. <i>hu-uk-mi-ya-aš</i>	B I 13’
<i>humant-</i>	adj. – “all; every” nom./acc.sg.n. <i>hu-u-ma-an</i> nom./acc.pl.n. <i>hu-u-ma-an-da</i> acc.pl.c. <i>(hu-u(?)-)ma-an-da-aš</i> dat./loc.pl.(?) <i>hu-u-ma-an-da-a-aš</i>	Fa IV 24; Ka obv. 24, rev. 15], 28 Fa I 8’; Kb obv. 11’ Jc obv. 6’ B IV 21’
<i>huntariyai-</i>	“break wind” M.prs.3.sg. <i>hu-un-ta-ri-ya-it-ta</i>	G II 8
<i>hupai-</i>	“pile up; blend (foodstuffs)” prs.1.sg. <i>hu-u-up-am-mi</i>	Fa IV 18
(DUG) <i>huppar-</i> n.	“bowl” nom./acc.sg. DUG <i>hu-u-up-pár</i> dat./loc.sg. <i>hu-up-pa-r[i</i>	Fa I 7’ R I 4’
ṽG <i>hubiki-</i> n.	“veil” nom./acc.sg. ṽG <i>hu-u-bi-ki</i>	Fa I 30’
<i>hurlili</i>	adv. – “in Hurrian” <i>hur-li-li</i>	Ka obv. 13, rev. 35
<i>hurnu-</i>	“sprinkle” ppl.nom./acc.pl.n. <i>hur-nu-an-ta</i>	Ka rev. 10
<i>hurtali-</i> c.	“mixing bowl; malediction(?)” nom.sg. <i>hu-ur-ta-li-iš-ša</i>	C obv. 17’
<i>hušk-</i>	“wait” prs.3.sg. <i>hu-uš-ki-iz-zi</i>	Ja rev. 21’(?)
<i>hušt-</i> c.	a mineral(?) acc.sg. <i>hu-u-uš-ta-an</i>	C obv. 9
ṽG <i>huwammalya-</i> c.	“receiving blanket” acc.sg. ṽG <i>hu-wa-am-ma-li-ya-an</i>	A obv. 7

<i>ḫuwant-</i> c.	“wind” nom.sg. <i>ḫu-wa-an-za</i> gen.sg. <i>ḫu-wa-an-da-aš</i>	B IV 8’ G II 7
𐎶 <i>ḫuwand(a)-</i> c.(?)	meaning unknown abl.sg. 𐎶 <i>ḫu-u-wa-an-da-za</i>	L rev. 26
<i>ḫuwaši-</i> n.	“upright (cult) stone” nom./acc.sg. ^{GIŠ} <i>ḫu-u-wa-ši</i>	T II 8’
<i>iya-</i>	“do; treat; prepare” prs.3.sg. <i>i-ya-zi</i> prs.3.pl. <i>i-ya-an-zi</i> <i>i-en-zi</i> DÜ- <i>an-zi</i> prt.3.sg. DÜ- <i>at</i> imp.3.sg. <i>i-e-id-du</i> imp.3.pl. <i>i-ya-an-du</i> ppl.nom.sg.c. [<i>i-y</i>] <i>a-an-za</i> <i>i-an-za</i> ppl.nom.pl.c. <i>i-ya-an-te-eš</i>	Ja rev. 22’; Ka rev. 16] Ja rev. 8’, 9’[, 14’, 19’ Ka obv. 37, 45, 53, rev. 22[, 45] U rev. 3, 4 L rev. 8 C rev. 5’ L rev. 15 Ka obv. 38 Ka rev. 45 Ha III 10
<i>iya-</i>	“go” M.imp.2.sg. <i>i-ya-a[d-du-ma-at]</i>	Fa IV 5
<i>i-ya-la-a-</i> [	meaning unknown	Ka edge 2
<i>iyannai-</i>	“go (dur.)” prt.3.sg. <i>i-ya-an-ni-iš</i>	Fa I 32’; L rev. 5
<i>iyata(r)</i> n.	“abundance” ? <i>i-ya-a-t[a(-)]</i>	M obv. 8’
<i>imma</i>	adv. – “indeed” <i>im-ma</i>	Ka rev. 11; Kb obv. 7’
<i>innarahḫ-</i>	“be strong” verbal sub.nom./acc.sg. <i>in-na-ra-aḫ-ḫu-ar</i>	D rev. 10’
<i>inira-</i> c.	“eyebrow” nom.sg. <i>i-ni-ra-aš</i> dat./loc.sg. <i>i-ni-ri</i>	C rev. 11’ C rev. 11’
<i>ipulli-</i> n.	“strap(?)” dat./loc.pl. <i>i-pu-ul-li-ya-aš</i>	Ha II 24, III 13

<i>irḥa-</i>	“make the rounds” prs.3.pl. <i>ir-ḥa-an-zi</i>	Ka edge 3
^{GIŠ} <i>irḥui-</i> n.	“basket” nom./acc.pl. ^{GIŠ} <i>ir-ḥu-i-ta</i>	Ka rev. 63
^{GIŠ} <i>irippi-</i> n.	“cedar” nom./acc.pl. ^{GIŠ} <i>i-ri-ip-pi-da</i> ^{GIŠ} ERIN	Hb II 5, 16] Fa IV 4; Ha II 22, 29, III 11; Hc 16'; Ka obv. 11, rev. 33
<i>išḥai-/išḥiya-</i>	“bind” prs.3.sg. <i>iš-ḥa-a-i</i> <i>iš-ḥi-i-e-iz-zi</i> prs.3.pl. <i>iš-ḥ[i-ya-a]n-zi</i> ppl.nom./acc.sg.n. <i>iš-ḥi-ya-an</i> ppl.nom./acc.pl.n. <i>iš-ḥi-ya-an-da</i>	Ha II 8; Hc 8' Fa I 5' Ha II 21 Ha II 23, III 13 W 4'
<i>išḥarnumai-</i>	“make bloody” <i>iš-ḥar-nu-m[a-</i>	O II 2'
<i>išḥima(n)-</i> c.	“rope, cord” inst.sg. <i>iš-ḥi-ma-ni-it</i>	D obv. 3
<i>išḥiul-</i> n.	“regulation” nom./acc.sg. <i>iš-ḥi-ú-ul</i>	Ka obv. 16[, rev. 2, 58
<i>išḥuwai-</i>	“throw” prs.3.sg. <i>iš-ḥu-u-w[a-a-i]</i> <i>iš-ḥu(?) -u-wa-i</i>	Fa I 8' Jc obv. 8'
<i>iškiya-</i>	“anoint” prs.3.sg. [<i>iš-k</i>]i-iz-zi	Na rev. 3'
<i>iškiš-</i> n.	“back” dat./loc.pl. <i>iš-ki-ša-aš</i>	Fa I 18'; Ka rev. 54
<i>išpant-</i> c.	“night” acc.sg. [<i>iš-pa-an-da-an</i>] GI ₆ -an	Zb obv. 7' Za II 13'
<i>išpar-</i>	“spread out” prs.3.pl. <i>iš-pa-ra-an-zi</i> ppl.nom.sg.c. <i>iš-pār-ra-an-za</i>	A obv. 5 C obv. 17

<i>ištanana-</i> c.	“altar” dat./loc.sg. <i>iš-ta-na-ni</i>	Fa IV 10
<i>ištap(p)-</i>	“cover up; stop up” prs.3.sg. <i>iš-da-a-pí</i> <i>iš-da-pí</i> <i>iš-tap-pí</i> <i>iš-ta-[pí]</i> ppl.nom./acc.pl.n. <i>iš-tap-pa-an-ta</i>	Ha II 43 Ha II 33 Hf 4’ He 6’ Ka rev. 10
<i>ištarna</i>	adv. – “between” <i>iš-tar-na</i>	A obv. 4, 16
<i>idalawant-</i>	adj. – “evil” nom.sg.c. <i>i-da-a-la-u-wa-an-za</i>	B IV 10’
<i>idalu-</i>	adj. – “evil” nom.sg.c. <i>ḪUL-lu-uš</i> acc.sg.c. <i>i-da-a-lu-un</i> nom./acc.sg.n. <i>i-da-a-lu</i> <i>ḪUL-lu</i> <i>? i-da-a-[]</i>	L rev. 29 Na obv. 4’ Na obv. 2’(?), 3’; Q 10’[(?)] L rev. 30, 33 Na obv. 2’
<i>itkalziya</i> (Hurr.)	offering term <i>it-kal-zi-ya</i>	Hb II 14
<i>yuga-</i> n.	“yoke” nom./acc.sg. <i>i-ú(!)-ga-an</i>	Ka rev. 53
<i>ka</i>	adv. – “here” <i>ka-a</i>	C obv. 4
<i>ka-</i>	prn. – “this” nom.sg.c. <i>ka-a-aš</i> acc.sg.c. <i>ku-u-un</i> nom./acc.sg.n. <i>ki-i</i> gen.sg. <i>ki-e-el</i> dat./loc.sg. <i>ki-e-da-ni</i> abl.sg. <i>ki-e-iz</i> nom./acc.pl.n. <i>ki-i</i> <i>ki-e</i> dat./loc.pl. <i>ki-e-da-ša</i>	M rev. 2’; Q 8’(?), 9’ L rev. 33(!) D rev. 12’; L rev. 16(?); P III 7’ Q 15’ B IV 3’; L rev. 30; Q 10’ Q 19’ A obv. 1; Ka rev. 47; L rev. 34 C rev. 24’; P II 2 B IV 9’

<i>gakaēššar</i> n.	meaning unknown dat./loc.sg. <i>ga-ka(!)-eš-ni</i>	Fb III 4'
<i>kallar-</i>	adj. – “unfavorable” nom./acc.sg. <i>kal-la-ar</i>	Ka rev. 16
<i>ḫ¹kallištawana-</i>	a building dat./loc.sg. <i>ḫ¹kal-li-i[š-tar-wa-ni(?)]</i>	Ka obv. 15
<i>kalmišana-</i> c.	“log” nom.pl. <i>ḫ¹kal-mi-ša-ni-[eš]</i>	Fb III 7'
<i>kammara-</i> c.	“smoke” nom.sg. <i>kam-ma-ra-aš(!)</i>	Fa IV 9
<i>-kan</i>	sentence-particle <i>-kán</i>	A obv. 4, 14 (2×); B I 20', 22', 23', 25', 26', IV 7'; C obv. 10, 13, 15, 21, rev. 7', 11' (2×), 12' (2×), 13' (2×), 14', 15', 16' (2×); D obv. 3; E obv. 9', rev. 5', 10'; Fa I 13', 29', Fb II 8, 9; Fc obv. 11', 16'; Ha II 10, 15, 24, 28, 32, 43, III 14, 18, 19, 31, 41; Hb II 1'; Hd 3'; Ja rev. 10', 19'; Ka obv. 1, 3, 7, 11, 12, 13, 21, 22, 38, 40, 41, 42, 49, 53, 54, rev. 5, 15, 16, 17 (2×), 18, 33, 35, edge 3; Kb obv. 6'; L rev. 5, 6, 7, 11, 27 (2×), 28, 30, 33; P II 5; Q 14'; U rev. 10, 13
	<i>nu-kán</i>	Ka obv. 29; Kb rev. 4; L rev. 5, 15
	?	D obv. 11
<i>gank-</i>	“hang” prs.3.sg. <i>ga-an-k[i]</i> ppl.nom.pl.c. <i>ga-an-k[án-te-eš]</i>	Hc 12' Hb II 6
^{DUG} <i>kappi-</i> c.	a measure and a vessel acc.sg. ^{DUG} <i>kap-pí-i-in</i>	Hf 3'

	DUG <i>kap-pí-in</i>	Ha II 42
	dat./loc.sg. DUG <i>kap-pí</i>	Ha II 39
<i>kappuwai-</i>	“count” dur.prs.3.pl. <i>kap-pu-u-uš-kán-zi</i> <i>kap-pu-uš-kán-zi</i> dur.imp.3.pl. [<i>kap-p</i>]u-u-uš-kán-du	Ka rev. 40, 43[Ka obv. 34[; Kb rev. 1[Ka obv. 31
<i>kariya-</i>	“cover” prs.3.pl. <i>ka-ri-ya-an-zi</i>	Fa I 9’
^{GIŠ} <i>garkar</i> n.	“basket(?)” nom./acc.sg. ^{GIŠ} <i>ga(!)-a-ar-kar(!)</i>	Ka edge 1
<i>karp-</i>	“lift; finish” P.prs.3.sg. <i>kar-ap-ta-ri</i>	Ka obv. 40
<i>karšikarši-</i> n.	“ointment” nom./acc.sg. <i>kar-ši-kar-ši</i>	L rev. 12
<i>kard-</i> n.	“heart” term.sg. <i>kar-ta</i>	Ka rev. 46
<i>kartimmiyahḫ-</i>	“anger” prs.3.sg. <i>kar-tim-mi-ya-aḫ-ḫi</i>	Ka obv. 41
<i>karu</i>	adv. – “already” <i>ka-ru-ú</i>	B I 15’, 17’; C obv. 23; Ka rev. 10; U rev. 2, 4, 6, 7
<i>kaša</i>	interj. – “look!” <i>ka-a-ša</i>	B IV 14’[, 17’
<i>katta</i>	adv. – “down” <i>kat-ta</i> <i>kat-ti(-)</i> GAM as preverb: <i>katta gank-</i> <i>mauš-</i> <i>šiya-</i> <i>awan katta dai-</i> <i>katta warp-</i>	B I 25’; Ha III 15; Ka rev. 53; R I 16’ Ka obv. 23], rev. 26; Kb obv. 3’[, 7’; S 5’ L rev. 9, 15 Ha II 10 A obv. 5; B I 4’[(?) C rev. 7’ Ka rev. 56 L rev. 15(?)

<i>kattan</i>	adv. – “below” <i>kat-ta-an</i>	B IV 5', 9'; Fa IV 20; S 3'; T II 9'
	GAM- <i>an</i>	O II 10'
^{SAL} <i>katra-</i>	a cult functionary nom.pl. ^{SAL.MES} <i>ka-at-ri-eš</i> ^{SAL.MES} <i>kat-ri-[eš]</i> dat./loc.pl. ^{SAL.MES} <i>ka-at-ra-aš</i> ^{SAL.MES} <i>kat-ra-aš</i>	Ha II 36 Za II 12' Ha II 44 Hf 5'; Ka rev. 23
<i>kadupai-</i>	verb – meaning unknown prt.3.sg. <i>ka-du-pa-a-it</i> <i>ka-du-pa-it</i>	Fa IV 23, 24, 25 Fc obv. 8'
(NINDA) <i>gaz(za)mi-</i> c.	a bread acc.sg. <i>ga-az-mi-in</i> acc.pl. ^{NINDA} <i>ga-az-za-mi-uš</i>	Ka rev. 23 Ka rev. 24
(DUG) <i>gazzi-</i> n.	a vessel nom./acc.sg. <i>gaz-zi</i>	T II 12'(?)
<i>keldi</i> (Hurr.)	offering term – “well-being” <i>ki-el-di</i> <i>ki-el-di-ya</i>	Ha III 26 Ka rev. 14, 20]; O I 16'
<i>genu-</i>	“knee” nom./acc.sg. [<i>gi-e-</i>] <i>nu</i> dat./loc.pl. <i>gi-nu-wa-aš</i>	C rev. 16' C obv. 22, rev. 16'
<i>genzu-</i> n.	an organ nom./acc.sg. <i>gi-en-zu</i>	C rev. 13'
<i>kez</i>	adv. – “on this side” <i>ki-e-iz</i> <i>ki-e-iz-zi-ya</i>	Ha II 1, 2; Hb II 3; Hc 8', 12' B I 2'; Hc 7', 8', 15'
<i>ki-</i>	“lie” M.prs.3.sg. <i>ki-it-ta-ri</i> <i>ki-it-ta</i> GAR- <i>ri</i> M.prt.3.sg. <i>ki-it-ta-at</i>	Fc obv. 9' A obv. 3; C obv. 4, 16 U rev. 10 A obv. 19(?)
<i>gimra-</i> c.	“field” gen.sg. <i>gi-im-ma-ra-aš</i> [<i>gi-</i>] <i>im-ra-aš</i>	E rev. 9' E rev. 9'

<i>kinu-</i>	“open” prs.3.sg. <i>ki-nu-uz-zi</i> g[i- <i>nu-uz-zi</i>] ppl.acc.sg.c. <i>gi-nu-wa-an-da-⟨an⟩</i> ppl.nom./acc.sg.n. <i>ki-nu-wa-an</i>	Ha II 49 Hf 10’ L rev. 31 Ka obv. 2(?)
<i>kinun</i>	adv. – “now” <i>ki-nu-un</i>	B IV 14’, 16’; Fa IV 17, 18 (2×)
<i>kiš-</i>	“become” M.prs.3.sg. <i>ki-ša-ri</i> DÜ- <i>ri</i> M.prt.2.sg. <i>ki-iš-ta-at</i>	Ha II 47 U rev. 11, 12, 13(?) Ka rev. 57
<i>kiššan</i>	adv. – “as follows, thus” <i>ki-iš-ša-an</i> <i>kiš-an</i>	A obv. 8]; B IV 13’[, 16’; C rev. 7’; Fa I 20’, 24’; Ka obv. 10, rev. 2, 61; P II 8’[; Q 14’] E obv. 13’; G II 8
<i>kiššar- c.</i>	“hand” acc.sg. <i>QA-TAM</i> acc.sg.c. <i>ŠU-an</i> dat./loc.sg. <i>QA-TI</i> abl.sg. <i>ŠU-za</i> <i>ŠU-az</i> inst.sg. [<i>ki-iš-</i>] <i>šar-ta</i> acc.pl. <i>ŠU^{MEŠ}</i> dat./loc.pl. <i>ANA ŠAPAL ŠU^{U.A.}-ŠU</i>	Ha II 34, III 3, 34, 37, 40[Fa IV 22 Ha II 26 L rev. 4 L rev. 4 A obv. 7 Hb II 11 Ka rev. 51
^{stc} <i>kišri- c.</i>	a woolen object nom.sg. ^{stc} <i>ki-iš-ri-iš</i>	Ka rev. 53, 61
^{giš} <i>kišdu- c.</i>	a wood acc.sg. ^{giš} <i>ki-iš-du-un</i>	R I 7’[, 9’
<i>kitkar</i>	adv. – “at the head” <i>ki-it-kar</i>	D obv. 4, 8; Ha III 7]
<i>kuer-</i>	“cut” prs.3.sg. <i>ku-e-ir-zi</i> prs.3.pl. [<i>ku(?)</i>]- <i>ri-a(?)</i> - <i>an-zi</i> imp.3.sg. <i>ku-e-ir(!)-du</i>	P II 5, 7[Ha II 11 L rev. 28

<i>kui-</i>	interrog. and rel.prn. nom.sg.c. <i>ku-iš</i>	B I 19'; Ha II 39; Hc 5'; Ka rev. 64; L rev. 30, 33 (2×)
	nom./acc.sg.n. <i>ku-it</i>	B IV 5'; Ha III 11; Ka rev. 11 (2×), 15, 17 (2×), 59, 64; L rev. 9
	<i>ku-i-ta</i>	Ka rev. 18, 59
	dat./loc.sg. <i>ku-e-da-ni</i>	Hb II 1; Ka obv. 29], 51(!), rev. 39
	nom.pl.c. <i>ku-i-e-eš</i>	B I 25'
	acc.pl.c. <i>ku-i-uš</i>	Ha II 40
	nom./acc.pl.n. <i>ku-e</i>	Ja rev. 17'; Ka obv. 25
<i>kuišša</i>	indefinite prn. – “each” dat./loc.sg. <i>ku-e-da-ni-ya</i>	A obv. 2
<i>kuiški</i>	indef.rel.prn. – “whatever” nom.sg.c. <i>ku-iš-ki</i> acc.sg.c. <i>ku-in-ki</i> nom./acc.sg.n. <i>ku-it-ki</i>	Ka obv. 14 Ka obv. 41; Kb rev. 12 Ka obv. 26, rev. 30, edge 2, 5, 6; L rev. 10; U rev. 10[(?)
	dat./loc.sg. <i>ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki</i>	E rev. 8'; L rev. 11
<i>kuit</i>	conj. – “because”	B IV 9' (?)
<i>kuitman</i>	conj. – “while, during; until” <i>ku-it-ma-an</i>	B I 9', 18'; Kb obv. 12', rev. 40
<i>kulamu(r)šiya</i> (Hurr.)	offering term <i>ku-la-mur-ši-[ya]</i> <i>ku-la-mu-ši-ya</i>	Hb II 14 Ha II 19
<i>gulš-</i>	“carve, engrave; write; indicate” prs.3.sg. <i>gul-aš-zi</i> ppl.dat./loc.sg. <i>gul-aš-ša-an-ti</i> <i>gul-ša-an-ti</i>	Fa I 3' Fa IV 21 Fc obv. 6'
<i>kunzi/agan(n)aḫit-</i> n. (Hurr./luw. loan)	a purificatory substance nom./acc.sg. <i>ku-un-zi-ga-an-na(!)-ḫi-ti</i> <i>ku-un-zi-ga-na-ḫi-ti</i>	Ka obv. 35 Kb rev. 6

	[<i>ku-un-zi-]</i> ga-na- <i>hi-ta</i> abl./inst.sg. <i>ku-un-zi-ga-an-na-<u>hi-ta-az</u></i>	Kb rev. 3 Ka obv. 3, 32[(?)], rev. 41[, 44] Kb rev. 2
	<i>ku-un-zi-ga-na-<u>hi-ta-az</u></i> -ša-case <i>ku-un-zi-ga-an-na-<u>hi-ša</u></i> [<i>ku-un-z</i>]i-ga-na- <i>hi-ša</i> [<i>ku-un-</i>]za-ga-an-na- <i>hi-ša</i>	 Ka rev. 42 Ja rev. 22' Ja rev. 14'
GIŠ _{ku} puššar n.	"cushion" nom./acc.sg. [GIŠ _{ku} up-p]i-iš-(<šar) dat./loc.sg. GIŠ _{ku} up-pi-iš-ni dat./loc.pl. GIŠ _{ku} up-pi-iš-na-aš	 A obv. 2 A obv. 3 A obv. 4, 6
GIŠ _{ku} urakki- c.	"pillar" gen.sg. [GIŠ _{ku} ra-a]k-ki-aš	 A obv. 18
GIŠ _{ku} urta- c.	a writing material nom.sg. GIŠ _{ku} ur-ta-aš	 Ka rev. 45
GIŠ _{ku} urtalli- n.	a container nom./acc.pl. GIŠ _{ku} ur-ta-al-li- ^{1.A} dat./loc.pl. GIŠ _{ku} ur-ta-li-aš	 C obv. 16 C obv. 17
kutt- c.	"wall" gen.sg. <i>ku-ut-ta-aš</i>	E rev. 14'
kuwapi	adv. – "when; where" <i>ku-wa-pi</i>	 A obv. 5; B I 11', 14', IV 13'; C obv. 7]; Ka obv. 21[, 37, 44, rev. 26, 45; L rev. 22; T III 4'
𐎶 _{ku} wari- c.	meaning unknown acc.sg. 𐎶 _{ku} wari-in	 L rev. 12
ku(wa)šku(šš)a-	"grind up" prs.3.sg. <i>ku-wa-aš-ku-zi</i> imp.3.pl. <i>ku-wa-aš-ku-wa-aš-ša-an-du</i> ppl.acc.sg.c. <i>ku-uš-ku-u[š-ša-an-ta-an]</i>	 P II 6 L rev. 14 Ka obv. 18(?)

<i>lahuwai-</i>	“pour” prs.3.sg. <i>la-bu-i</i> <i>la-bu-u-wa-i</i> prs.3.pl. <i>la-a-bu-w[a-an-zi]</i> <i>la-bu-an-zi</i> ppl.nom.sg.c. [<i>la-b</i>]u-an-za	Ha II 26 Fa I 23’ Hb II 19 Ha II 40 He 13’
<i>laknu-</i>	“bend; pass (the night)” prs.3.pl. <i>la-ak-nu-wa-an-zi</i>	Za II 13’
<i>lakšai-</i> c.	an implement nom.sg. <i>la-ak-ša-iš</i>	Ka rev. 55
<i>lala-</i>	“take(?)” Luw.inf. <i>la-la-u-na(!)</i>	L rev. 24
<i>laluškišnu-</i>	“brighten” imp.3.sg. <i>la-lu-uk-ki-i[š-nu-ud-du]</i>	M obv. 3’
<i>le</i>	adv. – “not!” <i>li-e</i>	D rev. 10’]; Fc obv. 15’, 18’
<i>lelhuwai-</i>	“pour” prs.3.sg. <i>li-el-bu-wa-i</i>	E rev. 3’
<i>lukka/i-</i>	“ignite” ppl.nom./acc.sg.n. <i>lu-uk-kān</i>	C rev. 21’
<i>lukkatta</i>	adv. – “the next morning” <i>lu-uk-kat-ta</i>	Ha III 29’]; Ka obv. 10, rev. 28; O I 12’
^{GIŠ} <i>lulai-</i> n.	a wooden object nom./acc.sg. ^{GIŠ} <i>lu-la-a-i</i>	W 2’
^{GIŠ} <i>luttai-</i> n.	“window” nom./acc.sg. ^{GIŠ} <i>lu-ut-ta-i</i> nom./acc.pl. ^{GIŠ} AB ^{IIA}	A obv. 17 Fb II 5
<i>-ma</i>	conj. – “but” <i>-ma</i>	C obv. 14, 19, 23, rev. 4’, 22’; D rev. 6’, 10’; Fa I 11’, 24’; Fc obv. 10’; Ha II 18, 46, III 22, 29, 38; Hb III 9’; Hc 12’; Hd 4’; Ja rev. 17’; Jc rev. 5’; Ka obv. 15, 23, 25, rev. 21, 25, 26 (2×), 29, 41, 43 (2×), 45;

		Kb rev. 4, 7; L rev. 4, 11, 15; O I 6', 8', 12'; T II 10'; U rev. 1, 3, 5, 7, 9; Za II 15'
	- <i>ma-</i>	A obv. 10, 14; B I 7', 9', 12', 14', 18', 21', 22', 23', IV 15', 17'; C obv. 15, 21; Fa I 13', 18', 31', IV 7; Fc obv. 7'; Ha II 39, 43, III 9; Hb III 8'; Ja rev. 15', 19'; Ka obv. 11, 13, 21, 42, rev. 1, 14, 17, 31(?), 35, 42, 51, 52, 53, edge 3; Kb obv. 12', rev. 3; L rev. 2, 9, 16, 28; O I 11'; R I 8', 16'; Za II 12'
<i>maḥḥan</i>	conj. – "when; how" <i>ma-aḥ-ḥa-an</i>	E rev. 9'; Fa I 20'; Fc obv. 11'; Ha III 20; Ja rev. 18'; Ka obv. 15, 31, 37 (2×), 45, 46, rev. 3, 18, 22, 27, 35, 45 (2×); Kb rev. 5; Q 9'
	<i>ma-aḥ-ḥa-an-ma</i>	B I 21'; Ha II 46, III 38; Ka obv. 42, 48, rev. 6], 17, 26[], 41, 43], edge 3
	GIM- <i>an</i>	E rev. 11'; Hd 6'; Hf 7[; Jb 2'[, Jc obv. 8'(?); L rev. 10; O I 8'; T II 10'
<i>mala</i> (Hurr.?)	an offering <i>ma-a-la</i>	Ka obv. 6, 8, rev. 6, 38; Kb obv. 13'
<i>man</i>	particle of unreality	Fa IV 22(?); Ka obv. 41
<i>mān</i>	conj. – "if; when" <i>ma-a-an</i>	B I 19', 20', IV 13', 16'; C obv. 12, 13; Ha III 30, IV 4; Ka obv. 20, 29, rev. 26, 43, 47; Kb obv. 14'; L rev. 1; M obv. 4', 6'; Na rev. 1'; P III 7'; U rev. 1, 3, 4, 5; Yb 1'
	<i>ma-a-an-kán</i>	Kb rev. 13; U rev. 13
	<i>ma-a-an-za(-kán)</i>	B I 11'; D obv. 1, rev. 12'; G II 1, 7; Ka obv. 1]; M rev. 3'

	<i>ma-a-na-</i>	C obv. 13], 14, 15; Ha III 35; Ka obv. 14, rev. 12, edge 6; O I 3'; U rev. 7, 8
	<i>ma-a-aš-ši (mān=ši)</i>	Ka rev. 15
𐎠 <i>manna(i)-</i>	“exorcise(?)” Luw.ppl.nom.sg. 𐎠 <i>ma-an-na-i-mi-iš</i>	L rev. 16
[<i>m</i>]a ² -an-ni-iš	Luw.adj.(?)nom.sg.	L rev. 27
<i>maninkuwant-</i>	adj. – “short” acc.pl.c. [<i>ma-ni-in-k</i>]u-an-du-uš	C rev. 3'
<i>maršaya</i>	an offering <i>mar-ša-ya</i> SISKUR.SISKUR ^{MEŠ}	Ka rev. 5, 7, 8
<i>mašiwant-</i>	rel.prn. – “as much as” nom./acc.sg.n. <i>ma-ši-wa-an</i>	Ka obv. 55
<i>mauš-</i>	“fall; be born” prs.3.sg. <i>ma-uš-zi</i>	A obv. 5; B I 22'
<i>meḥur</i> n.	“time; hour” nom./acc.sg. <i>me-e-ḥur</i> <i>me-ḥur</i>	Hf 8' Ha II 47; U obv. 5', 12'[,
<i>mema-</i>	“speak” prs.3.sg. <i>me-ma-i</i> prt.3.sg. <i>me-mi-iš-ta</i> dur.prs.3.sg. [<i>me-m</i>]i-iš-ki-iz-zi	Fa I 24'[, Ka obv. 13, rev. 35; L rev. 17; Q 14' E rev. 7' B I 24'
<i>menabḥanda</i>	adv. – “over against” <i>me-na-ab-ḥa-an-da</i> IGI-an-da	Fa I 13'; T II 7'[(?) L rev. 6, 14, 27
<i>-mi-</i>	enclitic poss.prn. 2.sg.nom./acc.sg.n. <i>-te-it</i> 3.sg.nom./acc.sg.n. <i>-še-it</i> <i>-ši-it</i> 3.sg.gen.sg. <i>-ša-aš</i> 3.sg.dat./loc.sg. <i>-ši</i>	Jc rev. 1' D rev. 12'; G II 2 C rev. 1' C obv. 1 E rev. 10', 12'

	3.sg.dat./loc.pl. <i>-ša-aš</i>	C obv. 22
	3.pl.nom./acc.sg.n. <i>-ša-mi-it</i>	Ja rev. 9'
<i>miya-</i>	"thrive; be born"	
	M.prs.3.sg. <i>mi-i-ya-ri</i>	Ka obv. 29](?); Kb rev. 4
	<i>mi-ya-ri</i>	B I 16', IV 13'
	Act.prt.3.sg. <i>mi-e-eš-ta</i>	L rev. 6
	M.prt.3.sg. <i>mi-ya-ti</i>	B IV 9'; Ka rev. 39 (2×), 43
<i>-mu(-)</i>	enclitic personal prn. 1.sg.acc./dat./loc. <i>-mu(-)</i>	C obv. 10, 12, 15; Ka obv. 38
^{NINDA} <i>mulati-</i> c.	a bread nom.sg. ^{NINDA} <i>mu-la-a-ti-iš</i>	Ka rev. 47, 62
<i>muriyala-</i> c.	"grape(-shaped) loaf" nom.pl. <i>mu-ri-ya-li-iš</i>	Hb II 6
 <i>muttiya-</i> c.	a demonic being(?) Luw.acc.pl.  <i>mu-ut-ti-ya-an-za</i>	L rev. 5
^{NINDA} <i>naḫiti-</i> c.	a bread acc.sg. ^{NINDA} <i>na-ḫi-ti-in</i>	Ha III 8
	dat./loc.sg. ^{NINDA} <i>na-ḫi-ti-i</i>	Ha III 15
	[^{NINDA} _n] <i>a-ḫi-ti</i>	Ha III 9
<i>naḫšariya-</i>	"take fright" M.prt.3.sg. ḪUŠ-ri-ya-ad-da-at	L rev. 7
<i>nai-/neya-</i>	"turn" M.prs.3.sg. <i>ne-e-a-ri</i>	Q 18'
<i>namma</i>	adv. – "further" <i>nam-ma</i>	C obv. 24; D rev. 9'; Fa I 2'; Ja rev. 11'; Ka obv. 5, 28, rev. 36, 49, 50, edge 3; L rev. 17; T II 7'; U obv. 7'(?); Zb obv. 10'
	<i>nam-ma-</i>	Fa I 15', 21'; Ha II 28, 34, 35, III 8], 36; Hb II 4; Ja rev. 10'; Ka obv. 7[(?), 8, 14, rev. 7, 20, 32, edge 5, 8; O I 9'

<i>našma</i>	conj. – “or” <i>na-aš-ma</i>	Ka rev. 39, 50 (3×); T II 9'; U rev. 10
<i>nawi</i>	adv. – “not yet” <i>na-a-wi</i>	U rev. 8
<i>nekuṭ- c.</i>	“night” gen.sg. <i>ne-ku-uz</i>	Ha II 47, III 38; U obv. 5', 12'
<i>nepiš- n.</i>	“sky” nom./acc.sg. AN- <i>iš</i> abl.sg. <i>ne-pi-ša-az</i> AN- <i>za</i>	L rev. 30 C rev. 7' L rev. 9
<i>nepiša- c.</i>	“sky” nom.sg. [<i>ne-p</i>] <i>i-ša-aš</i>	L rev. 2
GIŠ <i>niniyala- c.(?)</i>	“cradle” dat./loc.pl. GIŠ <i>ni-ni-ya-la-aš</i>	E obv. 7'
<i>ninink-</i>	“lift up; rouse” prs.3.sg. <i>ni-ni-ik-zi</i>	B IV 11'
<i>nirambi</i> (Hurr.)	an implement <i>ni-ra-am-bi</i>	T II 3'
<i>nu</i>	conj. – “and” <i>nu</i>	A obv. 1; B I 6', 13', 19', IV 13' (2×), 16'; C obv. 16, rev. 7', 8', 20'; D obv. 2, rev. 4', 8', 12'; E obv. 16'; Fa I 4', 14', 20', IV 4, 24; Fc rev. 2'; G II 2; Ha II 2, 12, 18, 22, 30, 33, 35, 38, 40, 44, 49, III 4, 21, 26; Hb II 2, 15, III 5' (2×); Hd 11'; Ja rev. 6', 7', 9', 14', 17'; Jc obv. 8'; Ka obv. 5, 20, 31, 37, 41, 46, 47, 51, rev. 25, 26, 45, 47; Kb obv. 3', 12', rev. 5; L rev. 10, 34; M rev. 4'; O I 5', II 7', 8'; Q 9'; R I 10'; T II 5', 6', III 2'; U obv. 10', rev. 3, 5, 11; Za II 11'; 13'
	<i>nu-kán</i>	Ka obv. 29; Kb rev. 4; L rev. 5, 15

(<i>nu</i>)	<i>nu-wa(-)</i>	B IV 3', 6', 7'; E rev. 5', 9', 11', 14'; Ka rev. 57, 58; L rev. 11
	<i>nu-za(-)</i>	A obv. 9, 16; Fb II 11; Ha II 15, III 29; Hb II 11; Ja rev. 12'; Ka obv. 6, 8, 12, 44, 51, rev. 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 25, 27; L rev. 2, 3 (2×); O I 9'; U rev. 1; Za II 9'; Zb obv. 9'
	<i>nu-uš-ša-an</i>	A obv. 2; B I 4'; Fa I 22', IV 23; Ha II 31, 42; Ja rev. 4'; Ka rev. 51, 55; L rev. 9; N obv. 2'; U rev. 4, 6, 8; Za II 5' Ka obv. 45
	<i>nu-uš-ma-aš</i>	A obv. 6; B I 8'; Ka obv. 44
	<i>nu-(uz-)za-an</i>	C obv. 17, rev. 8'; D obv. 1; Fa I 7'; Ha II 48, III 1, 3[, 11, 39; Hb III 13'; Hc 5', 6'; Ka obv. 25, 27, 35, 40, rev. 21, 22[, 27, 31, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 44; Zb rev. 5'
	<i>na-aš-ta</i>	A obv. 14; B IV 9'[(?); C obv. 18, 20, 23, 24; Fa I 16', 30'; Ha III 6; Hb III 2'; Ka rev. 63; L rev. 6, 7, 11
	<i>nu-mu(-)</i>	C obv. 10, 12; Ka obv. 38
	<i>na-aš(-)</i>	C obv. 13; Fa I 32', IV 20, 21; G II 7; Ha III 2, 18, 19, 20, 33, 40, 41; Hb III 10'; Hd 10'; Jc obv. 1'; Ka obv. 15, 38, 49, rev. 26, 39, 45, 46, edge 5; L rev. 5, 7; M obv. 5', 7'; O I 17'; Q 17'
	<i>na-an(-)</i>	B I 17', 20'; D obv. 8; E obv. 9', 13'; G II 2[, 8; Ha II 17, 32, III 31; Hb III 15'; Ja rev. 7', 8'; Ka obv. 39, 42, rev. 35, 46[, 64; L rev. 8 (2×); P II 6[, III 8'; Q 11'; R IV 3'; Za II 11'
	<i>na-at(-)</i>	B IV 11', 12'; D obv. 3; Fa I 9', 10'; Ha II 23, 24, 37, 45, III 14, 15; Ka obv. 7, 13, 45,

	<i>na-at(-)</i>	rev. 22, 29, 42, 59, edge 2; L rev. 10, 14 (2×), 17 (2×), 25; M obv. 9'; P II 5; U rev. 12
<i>nuwa</i>	adv. – “still” <i>nu-u-wa</i>	B I 18'
<i>paḥḥašnu-</i>	“protect” ppl.nom./acc.sg.n. <i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-mu-an</i>	B IV 11'
^{GIŠ} <i>paḥḥiša-</i> n.	“stick(?)” nom./acc.sg. ^{GIŠ} <i>pa-aḥ-ḥi-ša</i> ^{GIŠ} <i>p]a-a-(aḥ-)ḥi-ša</i>	Ja rev. 4', 5' Ja rev. 3'
<i>paḥš-</i>	“protect” prs.2.sg. <i>pa-aḥ-ši</i>	Ka rev. 58
<i>paḥḥur</i> n.	“fire” nom./acc.sg. <i>pa-aḥ-ḥur</i>	L rev. 4
<i>pai-</i>	“go” prs.1.sg. <i>pa-a-i-mi</i> prs.3.sg. <i>pa-iz-zi</i>	E obv. 17' Ha II 33, 48, III 28; Hb III 5'; Ka obv. 15], 27, rev. 25[, 31, 38, edge 4; Kb rev. 14](?); O I 4', II 6'; U rev. 9
	prs.1.pl. <i>pa-a-i-u-e-ni</i>	L rev. 22, 23
	prs.2.pl. <i>pa-it-te-[ni]</i>	L rev. 22
	prs.3.pl. <i>pa-a-an-zi</i>	Ha II 37, 46
	prt.1.sg. <i>pa-a-un</i>	C rev. 8'
	prt.3.sg. <i>pa-it</i>	Fa IV 15; L rev. 7
	imp.2.sg. <i>i-it</i>	E rev. 5'
	imp.3.sg. <i>pa-id-du</i>	C rev. 20'; E rev. 8'; L rev. 17
	imp.3.pl. <i>pa-a-an-du</i>	L rev. 11
	ppl.nom.sg.c. <i>pa-a-an-za</i>	U rev. 6, 7
<i>pai-</i>	“give” prs.1.sg. <i>pi-ih-ḥi</i> prs.3.sg. <i>pa-a-i</i>	C obv. 23, 24 Ha III 16; Ja rev. 13'; Ka obv. 9, edge 5; O I 12'
	prs.3.pl. <i>pi-ya-an-zi</i> <i>pi-an-zi</i>	Ha II 45, III 27 C obv. 8, 12; Ka rev. 9, 12, 23[], 24[

	SUM- <i>an-zi</i>	U obv. 6'
	imp.2.sg. <i>pa-i</i>	E rev. 6'
	dur.prs.3.pl.	
..	<i>pí-iš-kán-zi</i>	A obv. 9
	<i>pí-eš-kán-zi</i>	Ka obv. 48, 50
	dur.imp.2.sg. <i>pí-iš-ki</i>	D rev. 11'
GIŠ <i>paini-</i> n.	"tamarisk(?)"	
	nom./acc.sg.	
	GIŠ <i>pa-a-i-ni</i>	Hc 11', 16'
	GIŠ <i>pa-i-ni</i>	Ha II 22, 29, III 12; W 7']
(𐎶) <i>palḫa-</i>	"stretch out"	
	Luw.inf. 𐎶 <i>pal-ḫu-na</i>	L rev. 22
	Luw.ppl.nom./acc.pl.(?)n.	
	<i>pal-ḫa-am-ma</i>	L rev. 30
𐎶 <i>palpada-</i>	meaning unknown	
	Luw.P.ppl.acc.sg.c.	
	𐎶 <i>pal-pa-da-mi-in</i>	L rev. 31
<i>papparš-</i>	"sprinkle"	
	prs.3.pl.	
	<i>pa-aṣ-pár-ša-an-zi</i>	O I 5'
𐎶 <i>pa-pa-ar-ta-ma</i>	Luw.ppl. of unknown meaning (acc.sg.(?))	L rev. 31
<i>para</i>	adv. – "forth"	
	<i>pa-ra-a</i>	B IV 15', 17'; C rev. 9'; Fa IV 22; Ja rev. 20'
	as preverb:	
	<i>para ar-</i>	Ha III 21; Ka rev. 22
	<i>ep-</i>	Ha III 17; O I 14'; Q 13'
	<i>ḫušḫ-</i>	Ja rev. 21'
	<i>leḫḫuwai-</i>	E rev. 3'
	<i>pai-</i> ("go")	O I 4'
	<i>pai-</i> ("give")	C obv. 12
	<i>penna-</i>	Ha III 19
	<i>peda-</i>	Hd 8'
	<i>šuppiyahḫ-</i>	Ka obv. 10, 12
	<i>da-</i>	Ja rev. 10'
	<i>dai-</i>	Ha II 35, III 3, 41, 43; Hd 6'

	<i>tiya-</i>	Ka obv. 42
	<i>uwa-</i>	Ha III 4, 41; Ka rev. 36
<i>parḥ-</i>	“chase” imp.3.sg. <i>pár-aḥ-du</i>	C rev. 2’
<i>parku-</i>	adj. – “high” dat./loc.pl. <i>pár-ga-u-wa-aš</i>	C rev. 18’
<i>parkueš-</i>	“be(come) pure” prs.3.sg. <i>pár-ku-iš-zi</i> <i>pár-ku-e-eš-[-</i>	Ja rev. 5’ U obv. 3’(?)
<i>parkui-</i>	adj. – “pure” nom.sg.c. <i>pár-ku-i-iš</i> <i>pár-ku-iš</i>	Ha III 30 Ha III 35; Hb III 6’
<i>parkunu-</i>	“purify” prs.1.sg. <i>pár-ku-nu-mi</i> prs.3.sg. <i>pár-ku-nu-zi</i> ? <i>pár-ku-n[u-</i>	C obv. 18 Ja rev. 16’ T III 7’
<i>parkuyatar</i> n.	“purification” gen.sg. <i>pár-ku-ya-an-na-aš</i>	Ka obv. 16
^{GIŠ} <i>parnulli-</i> n.	a wood nom./acc.sg. ^{GIŠ} <i>pár-nu-ul-li</i>	Fa IV 3, 6; R I 15’
<i>paršai-</i>	“break” ppl.nom./acc.sg.n. <i>pár-ši-ya-an</i> ? <i>pár-š[i-</i>	Ka rev. 21 T II 4’
^{NINDA} <i>paršulli-</i> c.	“bread crumbs” acc.pl. ^{NINDA} <i>pár-šu-ul-li-e-eš</i>	Ka rev. 22
^{NA4} <i>paššila-</i> c.	“pebble” acc.pl. ^{NA4} <i>pa-aš-ši-lu-uš</i> ? ^{NA4} <i>pa-[-</i>	C rev. 5’ Jc obv. 6’
<i>pašk-</i>	“stick; attach” prt.3.sg. <i>pa-aš-ki-it</i> ? <i>pa-aš-k[án-</i>	Fb II 1 Ka rev. 56

<i>-pat</i>	intensifying particle <i>-pát</i>	Ja rev. 18'; Ka obv. 8, 16, 48 (2×), edge 7 (2×); Kb obv. 11; P II 8(?); R I 16'
<i>padda-</i>	"dig" prs.1.sg. <i>pád-da-aḫ-bi</i>	D obv. 4
<i>patalḫa- c.</i>	"fetter" acc.sg. <i>pa-[ta-al-ḫa-an]</i>	Na obv. 4
𐎶 <i>patalḫai-</i>	"fetter" Luw.inf. 𐎶 <i>pa-tal-ḫa-ú-na</i> Luw.ppl.acc.sg.c. 𐎶 <i>pa(!)-tal-ḫa-an-da-an</i>	L rev. 24 L rev. 32
<i>patalliya-</i>	"fetter" verbal sub.gen.sg. <i>pa-tal-li-ya-aš</i>	O I 14'
𐎶 <i>patili- c.</i>	a priest nom.sg. 𐎶 <i>pa-a-ti-li-iš</i> 𐎶 <i>pa-ti-li-iš</i> 𐎶 <i>ba-a-ti-li-iš</i> 𐎶 <i>pa-ti-liš</i> dat./loc.sg. 𐎶 <i>ba-a-t[ti-li-ya(?)]</i> nom.pl. 𐎶.𐎶 <i>pa-ti-li-e-eš</i> 𐎶.𐎶 <i>ba-ti-li-e-eš</i> dat./loc.pl. 𐎶.𐎶 <i>pa-ti-li-e-eš</i> 𐎶.𐎶 <i>pa-a-[ti-li-y]a-aš</i> 𐎶 <i>pa-ti-li-ya-aš</i>	Ha II 13]; Hd 7']; Ja rev. 6'[, 10' Ha II 23, 28, 31, 38, 48, III 4], 11, 16, 19, 24], 31, 42, 43, IV 3; Hb II 12, 18], III 4'[, 13' Jb 8']; Jc rev. 4'; T III 3'] Hf 9' T III 4' Ha II 36 Ja rev. 18' Ha II 44 Ka rev. 23 Hf 5'
<i>pe</i>	preverb—"away" <i>pe ḫar(k)-</i>	Ka obv. 48
<i>peḫute-</i>	"transport" prs.3.sg. <i>pí-e-ḫu-te-iz-zi</i>	Ha III 1[, 32, 39]

	<i>pí-hu-te-iz-zi</i>	C rev. 18'; 19'; Hb III 7'
	prs.3.pl.	
	<i>pí-hu-da-an-zi</i>	Ha II 17
<i>penna-</i>	"drive away"	
	prs.3.sg.	
	<i>pí-e-[en-na-i]</i>	Ka edge 7
	<i>pí-en-na-i</i>	Ha III 19; Ka rev. 26
<i>per/parn- n.</i>	"house"	
	acc.sg. <i>Ė</i>	Ka rev. 58
	dat./loc.sg. <i>Ė-ri</i>	Fa IV 1[, 8; Ka obv. 1
	abl.sg. <i>Ė-ir-za</i>	O I 4'
	I-NA <i>Ė-ŠU</i>	Ka edge 5, 7; O I 7'
	dat./loc.pl. <i>pár-na-aš</i>	Ka rev. 31, 32
	<i>Ė-aš</i>	Ka obv. 49
^{NA4} <i>peru(n)- n.</i>	"rock"	
	gen.sg. ^{NA4} <i>pí-ru-na-aš</i>	L rev. 13
	dat./loc.sg. ^{NA4} <i>pí-ru-ni</i>	L rev. 22
<i>peššiya-</i>	"throw"	
	prs.1.sg. <i>pí-eš-š[i-ya-mi]</i>	Fa I 25'
	prs.3.sg. <i>pí-eš-ši-e-i[z-z]i</i>	Ka rev. 33
	<i>pí-eš-ši-iz-zi</i>	Ka obv. 11
<i>peda- n.</i>	"place"	
	nom./acc.sg. <i>pí-e-da-an</i>	A obv. 14, 15; P II 7
	<i>pí-e-ta-an</i>	A obv. (16)(?), 18
	dat./loc.sg. <i>pí-e-di</i>	B IV 8', 10'; Ja rev. 7'
	<i>pí-di</i>	Jb 5'; U obv. 8', rev. 4
<i>peda-</i>	"take away"	
	prs.1.sg. <i>pí-da-ab-bi</i>	C obv. 16
	prs.3.sg. <i>pí-e-i[a-i]</i>	Hd 8'
	prs.3.pl. <i>pí-e-da-an-zi</i>	D obv. 2; Ja rev. 7'; T III 6'
	<i>pí-da-an-zi</i>	T II 6'
<i>pietta n. pl.tantum</i>	"allotment (of land)"	
	nom./acc. <i>pí-i-e-it-ta</i>	A obv. 9
<i>piya-</i>	"send"	
	přt.3.sg. <i>pí-i-e-it</i>	E obv. 16'

<i>piyanai-</i>	“pay, reward” prs.3.sg. <i>pi-ya-na-a-iz-zi</i> <i>pi-ya-na-iz-zi</i>	Ka rev. 64, edge 7, 8[Ka edge 5
<i>piran</i>	adv. – “before” <i>pi-ra-an</i> as preverb: <i>piran huinu-</i> <i>piran arḫa kuer-</i> <i>arḫa šipant-</i> <i>arḫa warnu-</i>	B I 15', 17'; Ha II 39, 41, 49, III 5; Hb II 12'; Ka obv. 7, rev. 11, 14, 21; L rev. 11(?); R I 16'; T I 10'[Fb II 2 Ha II 11](?) Ka obv. 7, rev. 9 Ka rev. 19
<i>puḫgari-</i>	adj. – “substitute” acc.c. <i>pu-u-ḫu-ga-ri-in</i>	Ja rev. 14'
<i>punuš-</i>	“ask, inquire” prs.3.sg. <i>pu-nu-uš-zi</i> prs.3.pl. [<i>pu(?)</i>]- <i>n]u-uš-ša-an-zi</i>	Hb III 5' Ka obv. 43
<i>huri</i> (Hurr.)	meaning unknown <i>bu-u-ri-y[a</i>	T II 6'
<i>putalliya-</i>	“strap on; cinch up” Luw.prt.3.sg. <i>pu-tal-li-it-ta</i>	L rev. 3
<i>ša-</i>	“be angry” prt.3.sg. <i>ša-a-it</i>	Fa I 26'
^{GIŠ} <i>šaḫi-</i> c.	a wood nom.sg. ^{GIŠ} <i>ša-a-ḫi-iš</i> acc.sg. ^{GIŠ} <i>š[a-ḫi-in]</i>	Fa IV 2 R I 14'
<i>šak-/šek-</i>	“know” prs.3.pl. <i>še-ik-kán-zi</i> <i>še-kán-zi</i>	Ka obv. 33][, rev. 42 Kb rev. 3
<i>šaklai-</i> c.	“custom” acc.sg. <i>ša-ak-la-in</i>	Ka rev. 58
<i>šakneš-</i>	“be(come) soiled” prs.3.sg. <i>ša-ak-ni-eš-zi</i> <i>ša-ak-ni-e-e[š']-zi?</i>	U rev. 5 O I 2'

ṚÚGš[al-	meaning unknown	S 3'
šallanu-	"bring up" dur.prs.1.sg. ša-al-la-nu-uš-ki-mi	C obv. 7
šalli-	adj. – "big" gen.pl. šal-la-ya-aš-ša GAL	E obv. 14' Fb II 11
šalwina- c.	"mortar" acc.sg. ša-lu-i-(ša-)na-an	E rev. 14'
-šan	sentence-particle -ša-an -za-an (= =za=šan)	A obv. 2, 5; B I 4'; C obv. 4(?), 22; D obv. 7; E rev. 11', 12'; Fa I 15', 21', 22', 23', 25', IV 1, 10, 23; Fb II 6; Ha II 25, 26, 31, 34, 39, 42, III 2, 8, 9, 15, 20, 36, 40; Hb II 4, III 8'; Ja rev. 4'; Ka obv. 10, 46, rev. 32, 51, 53, 55; L rev. 9; Na obv. 2'; R I 11'; U rev. 4, 6, 8; Za II 5', 14' A obv. 6; B I 8'; Fa IV 22; Ka obv. 44; L rev. 8(?)
šannapili-	adj. – "empty; not pregnant" nom.sg.c. ša-an-na-pí-li-iš	B I 20'
šanezzi-	adj. – "first-class; desirable" nom./acc.sg.n. ša-ne-iz-zi	Fa I 22', 25'
šanḫ-/šah-	"cleanse" prs.1.sg. ša-aḫ-mi prs.3.sg. ša-an-ḫ[a-zi] prs.3.pl. ša-an-ḫa-an-zi	C obv. 13, 15 Ka obv. 3 Ka obv. 32, 36], rev. 36, 41], 44[; Kb rev. 6; O I 5']
NINDAšaniddu- n.	a breadstuff nom./acc.sg. NINDAša(?)=n[i(?)=i]d-du	Ka rev. 22
NINDAšaniwali- c.	a breadstuff nom.sg. NINDAša-ni-wa-li-iš	Ka edge 1

<i>ša/epikusta-</i> c.	“pin” nom.sg. <i>ša-[pí-k]u-uš-ta-š(a)</i> acc.sg. <i>ša-pí-ku-uš-ta-an</i> dat./loc.sg. <i>še-pí-ku-uš-ti</i>	D obv. 10 D obv. 7 E obv. 6'
<i>šara</i>	adv. – “up” <i>ša-ra-a</i> as preverb: <i>šara da-</i> <i>tittanu-</i> <i>tiya-</i>	Jc obv. 2'; T II 5', III 3'[(?) Ha II 42 U rev. 2 Fb II 3
<i>šarhiya-</i>	“press, push (down or out); oppress” M.prs.3.sg. <i>šar-ḫi-ya-at-[ta]</i>	L rev. 27
<i>šarkuwai-</i>	“put on shoes” prt.3.sg. <i>šar-ku-ut-ta</i>	Fa I 28'
<i>šarlatta-</i> c.	“encomium” uninflected <i>šar-la-at-ta</i>	Ka rev. 14
<i>KUŠ/GIŠ sarpašši-</i> c.	“cushion” nom.sg. <i>KUŠ šar-pa-aš-ši-iš</i> <i>KUŠ šar-pa-aš-ši-ša</i> <i>GIŠ šar-pa-aš-ši-iš</i>	A obv. 2 A obv. 4 A obv. 3
(DUG) <i>šašanna-</i> c.	“lamp” dat./loc.sg. <i>ša-ša-an-ni</i>	Za II 14'
<i>šašta-</i> c.	“bed” acc.sg. <i>ša-aš-ta-an</i> nom.pl. <i>GIŠ N[Á]ḫi^{1.A}</i> acc.pl. <i>[ša-aš-d]u(!)-uš</i> dat./loc.pl. <i>GIŠ N[Á]ḫi^{1.A}-a]š</i>	Hb II 8 Ka obv. 24 Ha II 12 Ha III 6
<i>šeḫelli-</i> c.	a container(?) acc.sg. <i>še-ḫi-el-li-in</i> ? <i>še-ḫi-el-l[i-</i>	Ka obv. 9][, rev. 9; O I 12'](?) U obv. 5'
<i>šeḫelliški-</i> c.	“purity(?)” acc.sg. <i>[še-ḫi-li-]iš-ki-in</i>	Ja rev. 13'

šer	adv. – “upon”	
	še-e-ir	C obv. 3, 9, 15], 18
	še-ir	A obv. 6; Fa IV 21; Ha II 32, III 9; Hc 2', 4'; Ka rev. 54
	še-ra(-)	D obv. 7; R I 11'
	UGU	L rev. 8
	as preverb:	
	šer ar-	C obv. 15
	ištāp(p)-	Ha II 33, 43
	ši-ya-	L rev. 8
	šer arḫa wahnu-	C obv. 9, 18
šieššar n.	“flow; beer”	
	nom./acc.sg. ši-i-e-eš-šar	C rev. 7'
šiya-	“press; seal; M.: flow”	
	prs.3.sg. ši-ya-[iz-z]i	Ha II 39
	ši-i-e-iz-zi	Q 5'
	ši-ya-iz-zi	Ha III 5, 42]
	M.prt.3.sg. ši-ya-ti	C rev. 7', 8'](?)
	iter.prs.3.sg. ši-ya-eš-ki-iz-zi	L rev. 8
(é)šīnapši-	a cultic building	
	gen.sg. ši-na-ap-ši-ya-aš	Ha III 21
	ŠA éši-nap-ši-aš	Ka rev. 15
	uninflected éši-na-ap-ši	Ka rev. 17[], 20 (2×); T III 5'; U obv. 4'[]
	éši-nap-ši	Ja rev. 23'; Ka rev. 19
šipant-	“libate; offer”	
	prs.3.sg. ši-pa-an-ti	Ha II 16, 20[, III 18, 22], 23]; Hb II 13; Hd 9'; Ja rev. 12'; Ka obv. 6, 8 (2×), 9[, rev. 7, 9, 20, 49, 61, edge 3
	BAL-ti	O I 11', 16'
	prs.3.pl. ši-pa-an-ta-an-zi	Ja rev. 15'; Kb obv. 14']; U obv. 10'
	ši-pa-an-da-an-zi	Ka obv. 28, 33, 55], rev. 42], edge 1]
	BAL-an-zi	U obv. 9'

<i>šiptamiya</i> - n.	a beverage(?) nom./acc.sg. <i>7-mi-ya</i>	Ja rev. 15'
<i>šīwal</i> - n.	"dagger(?)" nom./acc.sg. <i>ši-wa-al</i> abl./inst.sg. <i>ši-wa-la(!)-za</i>	L rev. 26 L rev. 28
<i>šummai</i> -	"fill" prs.3.sg. <i>šu-un-na-i</i>	Fa I 7'[(?); Ka rev. 49; Za II 5']
<i>šuppa</i>	adv. – "in a pure manner"	Ka obv. 20, rev. 25
<i>šuppiyahḫ-</i>	"purify" prs.3.sg. <i>šu-up-pi-ya-aḫ-ḫi</i> <i>šu-up-pi-aḫ-ḫi</i> verbal sub.gen.sg. <i>šu-[up-]pi-y[a-aḫ-ḫu-wa-aš]</i>	Ha II 30; Ka obv. 10, rev. 35] Ka obv. 12 Ka obv. 15
^{sg} <i>šurita</i> - n.	"ball of yarn(?)" nom./acc.pl. ^{sg} <i>šu-ri-ta</i>	Hb II 7; U 6'[(?)
<i>šurki</i> - c.	"root" acc.sg. <i>šur-ki-in</i>	P II 6
<i>da-</i>	"take" prs.1.sg. <i>da-a-aḫ-ḫi</i> prs.3.sg. <i>da-a-i</i>	C obv. 21, 25; D obv. 10 B I 14'; D rev. 6'; E obv. 10'(?); Ha II 24, 29, III 14, 43; Hc 3'[, 10'; Ja rev. 10'; Ka rev. 56, edge 8(?); L rev. 26(?); Za II 3'[(?)
	prs.1.pl. <i>tu₄-um-me-ni</i> <i>du-me-ni</i>	L rev. 11 E rev. 8'
	prs.3.pl. <i>da-an-zi</i>	Jc rev. 2'; Ka rev. 47, 63; Kb obv. 9'
	prt.3.sg. ME- <i>aš</i> imp.3.sg. <i>da-a-ú</i>	L rev. 3 (2×) C rev. 6'(!); E rev. 9', 11', 14'[(?)
	imp.3.pl. <i>da-an-du</i> ME- <i>an-du</i>	L rev. 29 L rev. 12 (2×), 13 (2×), 14
	iter.prs.3.pl. <i>da-aš-kán-zi</i>	Ka obv. 26, rev. 29[, 30][(?)
	iter.P.prs.3.sg. <i>da-aš-ki-it-ta-ri</i>	Ka rev. 29

<i>dai-</i>	“place” prs.1.sg. <i>te-ib-ḥi</i> prs.3.sg. <i>da-a-i</i>	C obv. 22; D obv. 3, 5(?), 8 Ha II 25, 32, 35, 42, III 3, 7, 8, 15, 34, 41; Hb III 12'; Ka obv. 12, rev. 34[, 52; P II 7]; Za II 6', 7', 10'
	prs.3.pl. <i>ti-an-zi</i> prt.3.sg. <i>da-iš</i> <i>da-ga-a-an</i>	Ja rev. 11'; U obv. 11' Ha III 14 B I 3'[(?); Fa I 14'
<i>daganzipa- c.</i>	“earth” acc.sg. <i>KI-an</i>	L rev. 31
<i>takkeš-</i>	“arrange, prepare” prs.3.sg. <i>ták-ki-iš-iz-zi</i> <i>ták-ki-eš-iz-zi</i>	L rev. 30 L rev. 33
<i>daluki-</i>	adj. – “long” acc.pl.c. <i>ta-lu-ga-uš</i>	C rev. 4'
<i>damai-</i>	adj. – “other” acc.sg.c. <i>[t]a(?) -ma-in</i>	Hc 3'
<i>dammeli-</i>	adj. – “different” dat./loc.sg. <i>dam-me-li</i> <i>dam-mi-li</i>	Ja rev. 7'; U obv. 8' D rev. 7'
<i>ta-mi-in-ga-mar</i>	meaning unknown	D obv. 6
<i>dan</i>	adv. – “for a second time” <i>da-a-an</i>	Ja rev. 5', 16'; Q 19'(?)
𐎠 <i>dannamma-</i>	“all” nom./acc.pl.n. 𐎠 <i>dan-na-am-ma</i>	L rev. 4
<i>dannara-</i>	adj. – “empty” nom.sg.c. <i>da-an-na-ra-aš</i> acc.sg.c. <i>da-an-n[a-ra-an]</i>	Q 8' Q 4'
<i>dannarant-</i>	adj. – “empty” acc.sg.c. <i>ta-an-na-ra-an-da-an</i> <i>da-an-na-ra-an-da-an</i> nom./acc.pl.n. <i>da-an-na-ra-an-da</i>	D obv. 7 E obv. 5'(?); Ka rev. 28 Kb rev. 9'

<i>dankui-</i>	adj. – “black, dark” nom./acc.sg.n. <i>GI₆-i</i>	L rev. 2
<i>dandukeššar</i> n.	“mortality” gen.sg. <i>da-an-du-ki-eš-na-aš</i>	Fc obv. 12’
<i>tappi-</i> c.	a foodstuff(?) acc.sg. <i>tap-pi-in</i>	Ka obv. 17
<i>dapiya-</i>	adj. – “all” nom./acc.sg.n. <i>da-pi-an</i>	L rev. 10
<i>tapinama-</i>	adj.(?) – meaning unknown abl.sg. <i>ta-pi-na-ma-az</i>	Fb II 4
<i>tapuša</i>	adv. – “sideways” <i>ta-pu-ša</i>	L rev. 7
<i>tapušza</i>	adv. – “at the side” <i>ta-pu-uš-za</i>	D obv. 4
<i>taraša-</i> c.	a substance(?) nom.sg. <i>ta-ra-ša-aš</i> acc.sg. <i>ta-ra-ša-an</i>	C obv. 5 C obv. 18
<i>tarna-</i>	“loose” prs.1.sg. <i>tar-na-aḫ-ḫi</i> prs.2.sg. <i>tar-na-ti</i> prs.3.sg. <i>tar-na-i</i> prt.3.sg. <i>tar-na-aš</i> imp.3.pl. <i>tar-na-a[n-du]</i>	Na obv. 1’ D rev. 10’ Fa I 4’[; P II 8 Fa IV 9(!); Fb III 5’ B I 27’
<i>tarna-</i> c.	a weight gen.sg. <i>tar-na-aš</i>	Ka rev. 55
<i>tarpala-</i> c.	a woolen object nom.pl. <i>tar-pa-la-aš</i>	Ka rev. 54[, 61
<i>tarpatarpa-</i> c.	a plant acc.sg. <i>tar-pa-tar-pa-an</i>	E rev. 9’
<i>tarwai-</i>	“dance, jump” inf. <i>GIŠ-ru-an-zi</i> ppl.acc.sg.c. <i>GIŠ-ru-an-da-an</i>	L rev. 23 L rev. 32
<i>tar-za-aš</i>	meaning unknown	C obv. 23
<i>da-aš-kar-ḫi-×[</i>	meaning unknown	P II 2

<i>taškupai-</i>	“cry out” prt.3.sg. <i>tāš-ku-pa-it</i>	L rev. 9
<i>daš(u)waḥḥ-</i>	“make blind” imp.3.pl. <i>ta-aš-wa-aḥ-ḥa-an-du</i>	L rev. 28
𐎠 <i>dawalla-</i>	“give the (evil) eye(?)” Luw.prs.3.sg. 𐎠 <i>da-wa-al-li-it-ti</i>	L rev. 33
<i>te-/tar-</i>	“speak” prs.1.sg. <i>te-mi</i> prs.3.sg. <i>te-iz-zi</i> iter.prs.2.sg. <i>tar-aš-ki-ši</i>	D obv. 9], rev. 8’ B IV 14’, 16’ E rev. 5’
<i>tekan-</i> n.	“earth” gen.sg. <i>tāk-na-aš</i> <i>tāk-na-ša</i> loc.sg. <i>ta-ga-a-an</i> abl.sg. <i>ta-ka(!)-an-za</i> <i>tāk-an-za</i>	C rev. 20’, 21’](?); D rev. 8’ C rev. 5’ A obv. 5 D obv. 5 L rev. 26
<i>tepu-</i>	adj. – “little” nom./acc.sg.n. <i>te-pu</i>	E obv. 1’; Ka rev. 48, 63
<i>teriyalla-</i> n.	a beverage nom./acc.sg. 3- <i>ya-al-la</i>	Ja rev. 15’
<i>tešḥa-</i> c.	“sleep; dream” abl.sg. <i>te-eš-ḥa-az</i> inst.sg. <i>te-eš-ḥi-it</i>	Ha III 30, 35 Hb III 6’; Ka rev. 18
<i>tiya-</i>	“step, tread; arrive, enter” prs.3.sg. <i>ti-ya-az-zi</i> prt.3.sg. <i>ti-ya-at</i> imp.2.sg. <i>ti-i-ya</i> imp.3.pl. <i>ti-ya-[an-du(?)]</i> ppl.nom./acc.sg.n. <i>ti-ya-a-an</i>	Ka obv. 5], 35], 42, rev. 4], 27, 44 Fa IV 7; Fb II 3 L rev. 16 Q 12’ Ka obv. 46
<i>tittanu-</i>	“set up” prs.3.sg. <i>ti-it-ta-nu-zi</i> prs.3.pl. <i>ti-it-ta-nu-wa-a[n-zi]</i>	O I 8’; U rev. 2 T II 8’

<i>tuegga-</i> c.	“body” gen.sg. <i>tu-e-ig-ga-aš</i>	Ka obv. 44, 47
<i>tuḫalzi-</i> c. (Hurr.)	meaning unknown acc.sg. <i>tu-ḫal-zi-in</i>	U obv. 6’, 13’
<i>tuḫš-/tuḫḫuš-</i>	“divide; M.: come to an end” M.prs.3.sg. <i>tuḫ-ḫu-uš-ta</i>	Za II 8’
<i>tuḫḫui-</i> c.	“vapor” nom.sg. <i>tuḫ-ḫu-iš</i>	Fb II 5, III 5’
<i>tugg-</i>	“be visible, be prescribed” M.prs.3.sg. <i>tu-ug-ga-a-ri</i>	Ka obv. 22 (3 ×)
<i>tuliya-</i> c.	“assembly” gen.sg. <i>tu-li-ya-aš</i>	L rev. 13
𐎶 <i>dumantiyala-</i> c. (?)	“ear canal(?)” dat./loc.pl. 𐎶 <i>du-ma-an-ti-ya-la-aš</i>	L rev. 15
<i>tuni</i> (Hurr.)	meaning unknown <i>tu-u-ni</i>	T II 2’
<i>tuppi-</i> n.	“clay tablet” nom./acc.sg. <i>tup-pí</i> DUB.N.KAM abl.sg. <i>IŠTU 1 ṬUP-PI</i> nom./acc.pl. DUB ^{HI.A} -TIM	Ka obv. 13, 45, 46, rev. 35[D rev. 13’; Nb III 20 B I 12’ B I 13’
<i>turi-</i> n.	“spear(?), staff(?)” nom./acc.sg. <i>tu-u-ri</i>	Q 15’, 16’
<i>duwarnai-</i>	“break” prs.3.sg. <i>du-wa-ar-ni-iz-zi</i> imp.3.pl. <i>du-w[a-ar-na-an-du(?)]</i> inf. <i>du-wa-ar-nu-ma-a[n-zi]</i>	Q 3’](?), 7’] Q 11’ L rev. 23
𐎶 <i>du-wi-ip</i>	meaning unknown	L rev. 2
<i>uk</i>	independent personal prn. 1.sg.nom. <i>ú-uk</i> <i>ú-ga</i> 1.sg.dat./acc. <i>[am-mu(?)]uq-qa</i> 2.sg.nom.sg. <i>zi-ik</i>	E obv. 17’(?) C rev. 9’ S 5’ D rev. 9’

<i>ukturi</i>	adv. – “forever”; adj. – “eternal” <i>uk-tu-u-ri</i>	B IV 12’; Fc obv. 19’
<i>ul-mu-ri-ul-zi-iz</i> (-)	meaning unknown	Ka rev. 48
<i>unna-</i>	“drive in” prs.3.pl. <i>u-un-ni-ya-an-zi</i>	B I 21’
<i>unuwai-</i>	“adorn” ppl.dat./loc.pl. <i>ú-nu-wa-an-[ta-aš]</i>	Fa IV 20
<i>uppa-</i>	“send” prs.1.sg. <i>up-pa-aḫ-bi</i> prs.3.pl. <i>up-pi-an-zi</i>	Ka obv. 39 Ka obv. 54
<i>urki- c.</i>	“path, track” acc.sg. <i>u-ur-ki-in</i>	Na obv. 4’
<i>uda-</i>	“bring” prs.3.pl. <i>ú-da-an-zi</i> prt.1.sg. <i>ú-da-aḫ-ḫu-un</i> <i>ú-daḫ-ḫu-un</i> imp.1.sg. <i>ú-da-al-lu</i> imp.2.sg. <i>ú-da</i>	Ka rev. 46 B IV 14’[, 17’ E rev. 4’ B IV 15’, 18’ E rev. 17’
<i>uttar n.</i>	“word; incantation; matter” nom.sg.c. “erg.” <i>ud-da-na-an-za</i> nom./acc.sg. <i>ut-tar</i> dat./loc.sg. <i>ud-da-ni-i</i> Akk.stat.const. A-W[A-AT]	B IV 10’ D rev. 12’; Ja rev. 9’; Jc rev. 1’; Ka obv. 26, rev. 18, 30, edge 6 Ka rev. 9, 19[R IV 1’
<i>uwa-</i>	“come” prs.1.sg. <i>ú-wa-mi</i> prs.3.sg. <i>ú-iz-zi</i> prs.3.pl. <i>ú-wa-an-zi</i> prt.3.sg. <i>ú-it</i> imp.2.sg. <i>e-ḫu</i> imp.2.pl. <i>u-wa-a[t-te-]in</i>	C obv. 24 Ha III 4, 24, 41; Hd 10’; Ka obv. 3, rev. 36 L rev. 25 Fa IV 15[, 16 Fa IV 5 B IV 7’

<i>uwani-</i> c.(?)	“salt-lick” abl.sg. <i>u-wa-ni-ya-az</i>	Fc obv. 10’[, 11’
<i>uz(z)i</i> (Hurr.)	offering term <i>u-uz-z[i-ya]</i> <i>u-zi-ya</i>	Ja rev. 11’ Ka obv. 8, rev. 9; O I 10’, 11’
<i>wahmu-</i>	“turn; swing” prs.1.sg. <i>wa-aḥ-nu-mi</i> prs.3.sg. <i>wa-aḥ-nu-zi</i> prs.3.pl. <i>wa-aḥ-nu-an-zi</i> prt.3.sg. <i>wa-aḥ-nu-ut</i> imp.2.sg. <i>wa-aḥ-nu-ut</i> iter.prs.3.sg. <i>wa-aḥ-nu-uš-ki-iz-zi</i> iter.prs.3.pl. <i>wa-aḥ-nu-uš-kán-zi</i>	C obv. 18 D rev. 5’; L rev. 25, 34 B I 23’; Hb II 9[Fa IV 19 L rev. 29 C obv. 9 Za II 12’
<i>wak-</i>	“bite; taste” inf. <i>wa-kán-na</i>	P II 7
<i>walḥ-</i>	“strike; pound (in)” prs.3.sg. <i>wa-al-aḥ-zi</i> GUL-a[<i>ḥ-zi</i>] prs.3.pl. <i>wa-al-[ḥa-an-zi]</i>	Ha II 41; Ja rev. 3’[Hc 15’ Ja rev. 5’
<i>walḥi-</i> n.	a beverage nom./acc.sg. <i>wa-al-ḥi</i>	Fa I 12’
<i>waliwalai-</i>	“make strong” imp.3.sg. <i>wa-l[i-wa-la-id-du(?)]</i>	M obv. 5’
<i>war-</i>	“burn (intrans.)” prs.3.sg. <i>wa-ra-a-ni</i> <i>wa-ra-ni</i>	Fa IV 3, 4 Fa IV 2 (2×)
<i>-wa(r)-</i>	quotational particle	B I 25’, IV 3’, 6’, 7’, 9’, 14’, 15’; C obv. 11; D obv. 10; E obv. 14’, 17’, rev. 5’ (2×), 8’, 11’, 12’, 14’, 15’, 18’; Fa IV 16; Ka rev. 57, 58, edge 7(?); L rev. 9, 11 (2×), 22, 25, 30, 33 (2×)

<i>wariwara-</i>	“burn (intrans.)” ppl.nom./acc.sg.n. <i>wa-ri-wa-ra-an</i>	L rev. 4
<i>warnu-</i>	“burn (trans.)” prs.1.sg. <i>wa-ar-nu-mi</i> prs.3.sg. <i>wa-ar-nu-zi</i> prs.3.pl. <i>wa-ar-nu-wa-an-zi</i> <i>wa-ar-nu-an-zi</i> dur.prs.3.pl. <i>wa-ar-nu-uš-kán-z[i]</i> verbal sub.gen.sg. <i>wa-ar-nu-ma-aš</i>	C obv. 19, rev. 24’ Ka rev. 17], 19] Ka obv. 25 Ka rev. 29 Jc obv. 5’ O I 15’
<i>warp-</i>	“wash” prs.1.sg. <i>wa-ar-ap-mi</i> prs.3.sg. <i>wa-ar-ap-zi</i> prs.3.pl. <i>wa-ar-[pa-an-zi]</i> prt.1.sg. <i>wa-ar-pu-un</i> imp.3.pl. <i>wa-a[r-pa-an-du(?)]</i> ppl.nom.sg.c. <i>wa-ar-pa-an-za</i>	O obv. 20 Ka rev. 27; O I 9’ Ka rev. 28 Ka obv. 20 L rev. 15 Ka rev. 25; Kb obv. 4’]
(Giš) <i>warduli-</i> c.	a plant acc.sg. Giš <i>wa-ar-du-li-in</i> <i>wa-ar-du-li-in</i>	Fa I 6’ R I 12’
<i>wašši-</i> n.	“ingredients; medicine” nom./acc.sg. <i>wa-aš-ši</i> abl.sg. <i>wa-aš-ši-ya-az</i> nom./acc.pl. <i>wa-aš-ša</i> ^{HI.A}	C obv. 23 (2×), 24 Na rev. 2’ P II 2
<i>wašši(ya)-</i>	“dress” prs.3.sg. <i>wa-aš-ši-iz-zi</i> prt.3.sg. <i>wa-(aš-)ši-ya-at</i> <i>wa-aš-ši-ya-(at)</i>	C obv. 21 L rev. 2 L rev. 2 (2×)
<i>wašdulai-</i>	“sin” prs.3.pl. <i>wa-aš-du-la-an-zi</i>	Ka obv. 41
<i>watar</i> n.	“water” nom.sg. <i>wa-a-tar</i> inst.sg. <i>ú-i-te-ni-it</i> Akk. ME-E	O I 6’ E rev. 18’; P II 3 Fa I 11’, 19’

<i>watku-</i>	“jump; twinkle (of a star)” prs.3.sg. <i>wa-at-ku-zi</i>	Ha II 47, III 38]
<i>weḫ-</i>	“turn” M.prs.3.sg. <i>ú-e-ḫa-at-ta</i> M.imp.3.sg. <i>ú-e-ḫa-at-ta-ru</i>	E obv. 4'](?), rev. 12'] E rev. 10', 13'
<i>wek-</i>	“ask for, demand” prt.1.sg. <i>ú-ik-ku-un</i> prt.3.sg. <i>ú-e-ik-ta</i>	C rev. 8' E obv. 14', 15'
<i>welku- n.</i>	“grass” term.sg. <i>ú-el-ku-wa</i>	C rev. 19'
<i>wellu- c.</i>	“meadow” dat./loc.sg. <i>ú-i-el-lu-i</i>	Q 14'
<i>wemiya-</i>	“find” prs.3.sg. <i>ú-e-mi-iz-zi</i>	E rev. 15', 16']
<i>weriteš-</i>	“be afraid” prt.3.sg. <i>ú-e-ri-te-eš-ta</i>	L rev. 7
<i>wešuriya-</i>	“grasp violently” P.prt.3.pl. <i>ú-i-šu-ri-ya-an-da-at</i> [<i>ú-i-š</i>] <i>u-ri-ya-an-ta-at</i> <i>ú-i-šu-ri-an-da-at</i>	Fb II 7], 9], 10] Fb II 6 Fb II 8
<i>wiwai-</i>	“cry out” dur.prs.3.sg. <i>ú-i-ú-i-iš-ki-iz-zi</i> dur.supine <i>ú-i-ú-i-iš-ki-u-wa-an</i> <i>ú-e-u-iš-ki-u-an</i> <i>ú-i-i[š-ki-u-an]</i> dur.verbal sub.gen.sg. <i>ú-i-ú-i-iš-ki-u-wa-aš</i> [<i>ú-e-ú-i</i>] <i>e-eš-ki-u-wa-aš</i>	B I 9'[, 18' B I 11'[, 14'; M rev. 3'[Za II 10' Zb obv. 5' B I 10'[; Yb 2'[Ya II 4'
<i>-za</i>	reflexive particle <i>-za(-)</i>	A obv. 6, 9, 16; B I 8', 11'; C rev. 5'; D obv. 1, rev. 12'; E obv. 14'; Fa I 26', 27', 28', 29', 31', IV 17, 18, 20, 21, 22; Fb II 11; Fc obv. 20'; G II 1,

(-za)		7; Ha II 15, 35, 45, III 28, 29; Hb II 11; Ja rev. 12', 15'; Ka obv. 1 (2×), 2, 3, 7, 8 (2×), 12, 14, 37, 44, 51, rev. 1, 7, 15, 16, 17 (2×), 19, 20 (2×), 25, 26, 27, 45, 57, edge 5, 6; Kb obv. 12'; L rev. 2 (2×), 3 (2×), 8, 27; M rev. 3'; O I 9' (2×), 11'; U rev. 1; Za II 9'; Zb obv. 9'
	-az	A obv. 10, 11, 12, 13; B I 9', 14', 18', 21'; C obv. 11; E rev. 8'; Ka rev. 57; Kb rev. 3
zabha(i)-	"give battle; fight" prs.3.pl. za-ab-ha-an-zi	Ka obv. 40
𐎶 za-al-la-u-wa-ra	meaning unknown – Luw.(?)	L rev. 5
𐎶 zammanti-	adj. – "mortal" nom.sg.c. 𐎶 za-am-ma-an-ti-iš dat./loc.sg. 𐎶 za-am-ma-an-ti	L rev. 6 L rev. 24
zanu-	"cook (trans.)" prs.1.sg. [za(?) - n]u-mi	C rev. 23'
zappia-	adj. – meaning unknown acc.sg.c. za-ap-pi-an	L rev. 32
zašgaraiš n.	a part of the body – "anus" (?) nom.sg. za-aš-ga-ra-iš dat./loc.sg. za-aš-ga-ri-iš-ši	C rev. 14' C rev. 14'
zinna-	"come to an end" M.prs.3.sg. zi-in-na-at-ta-ri	Fa IV 26; Fc obv. 15'[, 17', 18']
𐎶 zunnimiš-	verb – meaning unknown Luw.prs.3.sg. 𐎶 zu-un-ni-mi-iš-ti	L rev. 16
zu-un-ti-iš-ta	meaning unknown	C rev. 17'
gišzuppari- n.	"torch" nom./acc.sg. gišzu-up-pa-ri	C rev. 21'

LÚ ₅ zuppariyala- c.	“torch-bearer” dat./loc.pl. LÚ.MES ₅ zu-up-pa-ri-ya-la-aš	Ka rev. 23
zurgi (Hurr.)	offering term zu-úr-ki-ya zu-ur-ki-ya	Ha II 15]; Ka obv. 8[Jc rev. 6’
zurkitai-	“perform a zurgi- offering” prs.3.sg. zu-úr-ki-ta-a-iz-zi	Ka rev. 32
𒌶zuwai-	verb—meaning unknown prs.3.sg. 𒌶zu-wa-iz-zi	L rev. 10

NUMBERS

1/2		Ka rev. 47, 62
1	1 1-an 1 ^{EN}	B I 6', 7', 12'; C obv. 2, 4, 6; D obv. 6; Fa I 11' (2×), 12' (2×); Ha II 18 (2×), III 7, 21, 22; Hb II 3, III 13'; Ja rev. 4'; Ka rev. 22, 47, 48, 55, 61, 62, 63, edge 1 (3×); O II 4'; W 2'; Za II 6', 15' Hc 15' A obv. 3 (2×), 4]; Ha II 2, 6; Hc 12'
2		B I 5'; Ha II 5, 41, III 17; Hc 10'; Ka rev. 50(?), 51, 53, 54, 61; L rev. 18; T II 12'(?)
3		A obv. 2; Ka edge 5; O II 7'; T II 4'; Za II 4', 5'
4		C obv. 6; D rev. 6'; Hb II 6(?); Ka rev. 62
5		Ka rev. 48, edge 1
7		Jc obv. 6'
9		C rev. 10'; L rev. 8
10		C rev. 9'

SUMEROGRAMS

^{GI} A.DA.GUR	“drinking straw” pl. ^{GI} A.DA.GUR ^{HI.A}	Fa I 4’
^{LÚ} A.ZU	“physician”	P II 5, III 8’
(^{GIŠ} AB	see ^{GIŠ} <i>luttai-</i>)	
AD.KID	“wickerwork” ^{GIŠ} BANSUR AD.KID	Ha III 7
ALAM	“image” ALAM ^{GIŠ}	C rev. 23’
(AMA	see <i>anna-</i>)	
(AN	see <i>nepiš</i>)	
AN.T[^{AH} .ŠUM ^S] ^{AR}	“crocus(?)”	C obv. 25
^{LÚ} AZU	“seer” pl. ^{LÚ} .MES ^S AZU	C obv. 8; Ka obv. 10, rev. 7, 8, 50, 54 Ka obv. 50, rev. 42]
BA.BA.ZA	“pap”	Ka rev. 52, edge 1[
BAL	“offering”	Ka edge 5
(BAL	see <i>šipant-</i>)	
^{GIŠ} BAN	“bow”	L rev. 3
^{GIŠ} BANŠUR	“table”	Fc obv. 9’; Ha III 7; Hb II 8; Ka obv. 21
BAPPIR	“beer-bread”	Fc obv. 20’
BULÙG	“malt”	R I 11’
DAM	“wife” DAM-ŠU DAM-ZU	Ka obv. 5; Kb obv. 6’ Fb II 9
DINGIR	“deity” sg. DINGIR ^{LUM} DINGIR ^{LIM} DINGIR ^{LAM}	Fa I 13’ Ka rev. 14, 59, edge 3; L rev. 31; R I 10’ Za II 10’; Zb obv. 9’

	pl. DINGIR ^{MEŠ}	E rev. 7'; Fb II 11; Ka edge 3; Q 11', 17'; T II 5', 10'
	dat./loc.pl. DINGIR ^{MEŠ} - <i>na-aš</i>	A obv. 9
(DÙ	see <i>iya-</i> and <i>kiš-</i>)	
(DUB	see <i>tuppi-</i>)	
DUG	"vessel"	C obv. 26; Fa I 2'; 19'
DUG.UTÚL	"pot"	Q 5'
	nom.sg. DUG.UTÚL- <i>aš</i>	Q 8'
DUMU	"son; child" DUMU	D obv. 8, rev. 10'; Fa IV 13
	DUMU ^{RU}	U rev. 5
	nom.sg. DUMU- <i>la-aš</i>	E rev. 12'
	DUMU- <i>aš</i>	A obv. 5; B I 4', 15'[, 22'; Ja rev. 6'(?)
	DUMU- <i>iš</i>	L rev. 6
	acc.sg. DUMU- <i>la-an</i>	E rev. 15'
	DUMU- <i>an</i>	B I 15'; C obv. 12, 17, 22; D obv. 1, 10], rev. 4'; E obv. 11', rev. 17'](?); Ja rev. 6'; L rev. 1, 33(!); Nb III 20; O II 8'
	dat./loc.sg. DUMU- <i>li</i>	L rev. 30
DUMU.É.GAL	"palace functionary"	C obv. 15
DUMU.LÚ.ULÚ ^{LU}	"mortal"	C rev. 4'], 10'
DUMU.NITA	"male child"	B IV 13', 14', 18']; Ja rev. 10', 17'; Ka rev. 41; Kb rev. 2](!); L rev. 9, 15, 24; M obv. 4'; T III 7'
DUMU.SAL	"female child"	B IV 15', 16', 17']; Ka obv. 35, rev. 43, 44, edge 5; Kb rev. 4; U rev. 3, 7
	nom.sg. DUMU.SAL- <i>aš</i>	M obv. 6'
kuš ^E .SIR	"shoe"	Fa I 27'
(É	see <i>per/parn-</i>)	
É.DINGIR ^{LIM}	"temple"	Ka rev. 21

É.GUD	“stall”	Fb II 8
É.ŠĀ	“inner chamber”	Fa I 32'; Ha II 40, III 3, 4, 25, 35, 42, 46; Hb II 10; Hc 13', 14'
	dat./loc.sg. É.ŠĀ- <i>ni</i>	B I 20'; He 13'
	abl.sg. É.ŠĀ- <i>az</i>	Fc obv. 18'
(EGIR	see <i>appa</i> , <i>appan</i> , <i>appanda</i> , <i>appezzijaz</i>)	
EGIR.KASKAL	“return trip”	Ka obv. 48
EME	“tongue”	
	nom.sg. EME- <i>aš</i>	L rev. 29
	acc.sg. EME- <i>an</i>	L rev. 27
	pl. EME ^{U1.A}	L rev. 22 (2×)
EN	“lord”	L rev. 29
EN.DINGIR ^{MES}	a cultic functionary	Za II 11'
EN.SISKUR	“offerant”	U rev. 5; Za II 1', 4'
EN.SISKUR.SISKUR	“offerant”	Fa IV 1, 8, 28; Fc obv. 16'; Ka obv. 55, rev. 51[, 64
(^{GIŠ} ERIN	see ^{GIŠ} <i>irippi</i> -)	
EZEN	“feast; festival”	Ka obv. 37 (2×), 38, 45, 53, rev. 45, 46
	EZEN <i>haššannaš</i>	Ya II 4'
	EZEN <i>haššantalliyaš</i>	Ka obv. 52
	[EZEN <i>ueu</i>]eškinuwaš	Ya II 4'
	EZEN ITU	Ka obv. 47
	EZEN ŠUMMA[TE ^{MES}]	Ya II 3'
(GAL	see <i>šalli</i> -)	
(^{DU} G)GAL	“beaker”	O II 5'
	GAL GIR ₄	Ka obv. 11
(GAR	see <i>ki</i> -)	
(GAM	see <i>katta</i> , <i>kattan</i>)	
GEMÉ	“maidservant”	Ka rev. 57 (2×)

GEŠTIN	“wine”	Ha III 16, 18; Hc 10'; Ka rev. 48, 63, edge 2
GEŠTU ^U .A	“ears”	C rev. 12' (2×)
(GI ₆	see <i>išpant-</i> and <i>dankui-</i>)	
GIBIL	“new” GIBIL ^{TIM}	Ka obv. 24
GÍD.DA	“long”	D rev. 11'
(GIM	see <i>mabhan</i>)	
GÍR	“knife” GÍR TUR ZABAR pl. GÍR ^U .A	C obv. 6 L rev. 4
GÌR	“foot” pl. GÌR ^{MEŠ} abl.pl. GÌR ^U .A-az	C rev. 16' (2×) L rev. 33 D obv. 4
GIŠGÌR.GUB	“footstool” pl. GIŠGÌR.GUB ^U .A	B I 6', 7' B I 5'
GIR ₄	“fired clay” GAL GIR ₄ UNUT GIR ₄ UNUTE ^{(M)EŠ/} ^U .A GIR ₄	Ka obv. 11 Kb obv. 8' Ja rev. 17(?); Ka rev. 28
GIŠ	“wood” UNUT GIŠ UNUTE ^{(M)EŠ} GIŠ ALAM GIŠ	C obv. 2; L rev. 26 Kb obv. 8' Ka rev. 28 C rev. 23'
GÚ	“neck” GÚ-ŠU	Ka rev. 52
TÚGÚ.È.A	“shirt”	E obv. 9'; Ka rev. 50
GÙB	“left” acc.sg.c. GÙB-la-an abl.sg. GÙB-la-az	Fa I 27' Fa I 28'
GUD	“ox” pl. GUD ^U .A	Fb II 8

(GUL	see <i>walḫ-</i>)	
GUNNI	“hearth”	Fa IV 11[; Fb II 6; Q 18’
GURUN	“fruit”	L rev. 13
LÚHAL	“seer”	Za II 2’
	pl. LÚ.(MES)HAL	Kb rev. 3
GIŠHĀSHUR	“apple(?)” abl.sg.	
	GIŠHĀSHUR- <i>lu-wa-an-za</i>	L rev. 28
(HUL	see <i>idalu-</i>)	
HUR.SAG	“mountain”	
	dat./loc.sg. HUR.SAG- <i>i</i>	T III 5’
	dat./loc.pl. HUR.SAG ^{HI.A} - <i>aš</i>	C rev. 18’; Na obv. 5’(!)
(HUŠ	see <i>naḫšariya-</i>)	
(UZU)I	“fat; oil”	E obv. 14’; R I 13’; Zb obv. 8’
Ì.DÙG.GA	“fine oil”	Fa I 23’; Ha II 25
Ì.GIŠ	“oil”	Ka rev. 48, 63]
Ì.NUN	“butter”	L rev. 14
GIŠIG	“door”	E rev. 11’
IGI	“eye”	
	pl. IGI ^{HI.A}	C rev. 11’ (2×)
	IGI ^{HI.A} - <i>wa</i>	L rev. 8, 28
ITU	“month”	
	ITU.KAM	Ka obv. 29
	ITU.N.KAM	Ka obv. 6, 35[, rev. 3, 27, 41, 43; U rev. 3, 6, 7, 8, 10
	dat./loc.sg. ITU- <i>mi</i>	B I 16’; Ka rev. 39]
	abl.sg. ITU- <i>az</i>	Ka obv. 31[, 34
	ITU- <i>za</i>	Ka rev. 43
	pl. ITU.HI.A	U rev. 2
	EZEN ITU	Ka obv. 47
N ^{A4} KA	“flint(?)”	L rev. 23
	nom.sg.(?) N ^{A4} KA- <i>ša-aš</i>	L rev. 27
	acc.sg. N ^{A4} KA- <i>in</i>	L rev. 26

KA×U	“mouth”	
	KA×U-ŠU	C obv. 13, 15, rev. 12'; Ha II 30; Ka obv. 12
	nom.sg. KA×U-iš	L rev. 7
	inst.sg. KA×U-it	Ka obv. 38, rev. 46
	pl. KA×U ^{U1.A}	C rev. 12'
KA×UD	“tooth”	
	acc.pl. KA×UD-uš	L rev. 29
KA.DÙ	a cheap beer	C obv. 26; Fa I 2'
KÁ	“gate; door”	Ha III 35
	dat./loc.pl. KÁ-aš	Ha II 40; T II 10'
(GIŠ)KAK	“peg”	Hb II 3; Hc 7'; O II 1(?)
	pl. GIŠKAK ^{U1.A}	Ha II 5, 7, 20, 32, 41; Hc 2', 4'
	4 KAK ZABAR	C obv. 6
GIKAK.Ú.TAG.GA	“arrow”	L rev. 3
KASKAL	“road”	
	gen.sg. KASKAL-ša-aš	Ha III 20
	dat./loc.sg. KASKAL-ši	Ha III 44; Hd 7'; Ja rev. 17'
	KASKAL ^{NI}	L rev. 12
(KI	see <i>tekan</i>)	
KI.LAL	“weight”	
	KI.LAL-ŠU	Ka rev. 55
KI.MIN	“ditto”	A obv. 10, 11, 12, 13; C rev. 11', 16' (2×); L rev. 8 (2×), 23, 24 (2×), 26, 31, 32 (3×), 33
	·	
	KI.3	C rev. 3'
	KI.4	C rev. 3', 12'
	KI.5 ¹	C rev. 12'
	KI.6	C rev. 13'
	KI.7	C rev. 13'
	KI.8	C rev. 14'
	KI.9 ¹	C rev. 14'
	KI.10	C rev. 15'

KÙ.BABBAR	"silver" <i>lakšaiš</i> KÙ.BABBAR TUR	Ka rev. 55
KUR	"land" nom.sg.c. "erg." KUR- <i>an-za</i> abl.sg.n. KUR- <i>az</i>	Fc obv. 12' Fc obv. 15'
KUŠ	"skin, hide" pl. KUŠ ^{BI.A}	L rev. 3
LÀL	"honey"	R I 13'
GIŠLAM.GAL	"pistachio"	Fa I 3'(!)
DUGLIŠ.GAL	"bowl"	Ha II 28, 31; Hc 3'; Ka obv. 22
LUGAL	"king"	R I 10'(?)
MÁŠ.GAL	"buck" nom.sg. MÁŠ.GAL- <i>aš</i>	C rev. 8', 22' C rev. 20'
MÁŠ.TUR	"young goat"	Ha III 17, 21, 22
(ME	see <i>da-</i>)	
MU	"year" pl. MU ^{BI.A} acc.pl. MU ^{BI.A} - <i>uš</i> MU- <i>an-ni</i> (= <i>witantanni</i>) "in the course of a year"	D rev. 11' C rev. 3', 4' B IV 15'[, 18'
MUL	"star"	Ha II 47, III 10, 38
MUN	"salt"	Fc obv. 10'; R I 13'
MUŠ	"snake" gen.sg. MUŠ-[<i>aš</i> (?)]	P II 1(?) L rev. 33
MUŠEN	"bird" pl. MUŠEN ^{BI.A}	Ha III 43]; O I 10'; U obv. 9' Jc obv. 4'; Ka rev. 17[, 19; O I 14', 15'
MUŠEN HURRI	"sheldrake"	Hb II 9
LU ¹ MUŠEN.DÙ	"augur"	C obv. 8
MUŠEN.GAL	"duck"	Ha II 18 (2×); Hd 7'; Ka rev. 47, edge 1

(^{GIŠ} NA	see <i>šašta-</i>)	
NA ₄	“stone” acc.sg. NA ₄ - <i>an</i>	L rev. 13[, 14
(NAG	see <i>eku-</i>)	
(NAM.)DUMU. LÚ.ULÚ ^{LU}	“mankind”	A obv. 14
LÚ ^U NAR	“musician”	Ka edge 7; Za II 12’
KUŠNÍG.[BÀR]	“curtain”	Ka rev. 50
UZU ^U NÍG.GIG	“liver”	C rev. 13’; Zb rev. 4’
[NINDA.Ì.]E.DÉ.A	“mutton-fat cake”	Hd 6’
NINDA.KA×UD	“tooth loaf”	Fc obv. 8’; R I 13’
NINDA.KUR ₄ .RA	“thick loaf” pl. NINDA.KUR ₄ .RA ^{BI.A}	Ka rev. 51 D rev. 6’
NINDA.SIG	“thin loaf” pl. NINDA.SIG ^{MEŠ}	Ka edge 1 Ka rev. 48, 62; T II 4’
NINDA.ŠE	“barley loaf”	D obv. 6
NU.GÁL	“there is not” NU.GÁL- <i>an</i>	Ka obv. 26, rev. 30], edge 2, 6(!?) A obv. 17 (2×)
URUDU ^U PISAN	“copper box” acc.sg. URUDU ^U ?PISAN ^{1?} - <i>an</i>	C obv. 24
SA ₅	“red” SÍG SA ₅	Ha II 22, 27, III 12; R I 6’; U obv. 2’
SAG.DU	“head” SAG.DU-ŠU SAG.DU-ZU	B I 28’; C obv. 19; E rev. 1’; L rev. 8(!) Ha II 26; Q 6’ C obv. 20
(SAG.)UŠ	“eternal”	B IV 4’
SAĤAR	“dust” acc.pl. SAĤAR ^{BI.A} - <i>uš</i>	L rev. 13

SAL	“woman” SAL	B I 6', 22', IV 19'; Ha II 12, 24, 30, 33, 37, III 1, 6, 13, 16, 18, 25, 29, 30, 39; Hb II 1, 9, 10, III 5'
	SAL ^{TUM}	U rev. 5
	nom.sg. SAL- <i>an-za</i>	A obv. 1
	SAL- <i>za</i>	A obv. 6; B I 9', 11', 14', 18', 21'; D obv. 1, rev. 12'; G II 1; Ja rev. 15'; Ka obv. 1, 19, 23(!), 47, rev. 11, 21, 22, 25, 27, 31, 36; L rev. 29; M rev. 3'; O I 4', 7'; P III 7'; U rev. 1
	SAL- <i>iš</i>	L rev. 27
	acc.sg. SAL- <i>an</i>	B I 25', 27'
	gen.sg. SAL- <i>aš</i>	Ka obv. 19
	ŠA SAL ^{TI}	Hb II 8; Q 15'
	dat./loc.sg. ANA SAL ^{TI}	Hb II 17; Q 10'
	nom.pl. SAL ^{MEŠ} - <i>iš</i>	L rev. 25
SAL.GAL	a cultic functionary	Za II 11'
SAL.LUGAL	“queen”	C obv. 20
SAR	“garden”	
	gen.sg. SAR- <i>[aš]</i>	Ka obv. 18
SÍG	“wool”	E obv. 1(?)
	SÍG SA ₅	Ha II 22, 27, III 12; R I 6'
SIG ₅	“be good”	
	prt.3.pl.	
	SIG ₅ - <i>ya-an-ta-at</i>	Fb III 6', 8']
	SIG ₅ - <i>an-ta-at</i>	Fa IV 12[, 13[, 14[
	ppl.nom.sg.c.	
	SIG ₅ - <i>an-za</i>	Ka edge 6
SIG ₅ - <i>in</i>	adv. – “well”	L rev. 17 (2×)
SILÁ	“lamb”	Ja rev. 14'; O I 11'
ŠIR	“sing”	
	pl. ŠIR ^{RU}	Za II 13'
SISKUR(.SISKUR)	“offering”	
	SISKUR	U rev. 3

	SISKUR.SISKUR pl. SISKUR.SISKUR ^{MEŠ}	Ka rev. 13, 16; U rev. 4 Ka obv. 7, rev. 5, 7, 8, 11
(SUD	see <i>huitiya-</i>)	
(SUM	see <i>pai-</i>)	
ŠÀ.BA	“among”	C obv. 2
(^{SAL} ŠÀ.ZU	see (^{SAL}) <i>haš(ša)nupalla-</i>)	
(ŠU	see <i>kiššara-</i>)	
(^{SAL} ŠU.GI	see (^{SAL}) <i>hašauwa-</i>)	
ŠU.SI	“finger” 10 ŠU.SI	C rev. 9’
GIŠŠÚ.A	“stool”	Hb II 8
(TA	see <i>IŠTU)</i>	
(TI	see <i>hūišwatar)</i>	
TI- <i>išnu-</i>	“give life” prt.3.sg. TI- <i>i[š-nu-ur]</i>	D rev. 4’
TÚG.DINGIR ^{LIM}	“divine robe(?)” dat./loc.pl. TÚG.DINGIR ^{LIM-wa-aš}	Fa I 28’ Fa I 29’
TUR	“small”	C obv. 6; Ka rev. 55
TÙR	“stock pen”	C rev. 8’; Fa IV 12; Fb II 7
Ú.SAL	“meadow” Ú.SAL ^{LUM}	Fc obv. 10’ Fa IV 25
UD(.KAM)	“day” UD.N.KAM	Hb III 4’; Ja rev. 19’; Jc rev. 5’; Ka obv. 27, 28, 30, rev. 3, 27], 38 (2×), 39 (2×); Kb obv. 16’; U rev. 6(!); Za II 8’, 9’
	dat./loc.sg. UD.KAM- <i>ti</i>	Ja rev. 11’
	UD- <i>ti</i>	Fa I 10’; Ka obv. 51, 52
	nom.pl. UD ^{HI.A}	O I 8’
	gen.pl.(?) UD ^{HI.A-aš}	Ka obv. 46
	dat./loc.pl. UD ^{HI.A-aš}	B I 16’

UDU	“sheep” pl. UDU ^{U1.A}	O I 16', II 4', 6'(?) Fa IV 12; Fb II 7(!)
UDU.U _x	“ewe”	B I 19', 22'
(UGU	see <i>šer</i>)	
U _H x	“sorcerous” nom.pl. U _H x ^{U1.A} - <i>uš</i>	L rev. 25
(UN	see <i>antuḥša-</i>)	
UR.BAR.RA	“wolf”	C obv. 19; L rev. 24, 32
UR.MAH	“lion” acc.sg. UR.MAH- <i>an</i>	L rev. 23 L rev. 32
UZU ^{UR}	“body part, limb” 9 UZU ^{UR} 9 UZU ^{UR} ^{U1.A}	C rev. 10' L rev. 8
URU	“city” URU ^{LIM}	Ha III 22
ÚŠ	“fate; death” nom./acc.sg. ÚŠ- <i>an</i>	L rev. 32
(ÚŠ	“blood” see <i>ešḥar</i>)	
ZÀ.AḤ.LI ^(SAR)	“cress”	Ka obv. 18 (2×)
ZABAR	“bronze” GÍR TUR ZABAR 4 KAK ZABAR U ₇ NUT ZABAR	C obv. 6 Ka obv. 25, rev. 29]
ZAG	“right” acc.sg. ZAG- <i>an</i> abl.sg. ZAG- <i>na-az</i>	R I 10'(?) Fa IV 22 Fa I 27'
ZÉ	“gall bladder”	C rev. 13' (2×)
ZI	“mind” Z[I (?) dat./loc.sg. ZI- <i>ni</i>	M obv. 2' Ka rev. 18
ZÍD.DA	“flour”	Ka rev. 47, 62 (2×)

AKKADOGRAMS

ANA	"to"	
	A-NA	
	with Hittite	C rev. 16'; Ha II 44; T III 4'
	with Sumerogram	B I 6', 22'; C rev. 10', 11', 12' (2×), 13', 16'; D obv. 8, rev. 10'; E rev. 7'; Fa IV 11; Fb II 6; Ha II 24, 32, 37, III 13, 16, 21, 22, 25; Hb II 2, 4; Hc 13'; Ka obv. 11, 55, 59]; L rev. 15, 23; Q 6', 10', 17'; R I 10'
	with Akkadogram	Ha II 26; Ka obv. 21, rev. 25, 51], 52
	with divine name	Hd 9'; Ka obv. 47, 51, 54, rev. 47, 57; T II 7'; Ya II 3'
	?	Fa I 9', IV 21; Ka rev. 42; O II 4'; R I 2'; T III 2'(?) ; Ya rev. 7'
^{SAL} ASSĀTU	"wife"	
	^{SAL} A-ŠA-ZU	O I 3'
(AWĀTU	see <i>uttar</i>)	
BIBRU	"rhyton"	
	acc.sg. BI-IB-RA	Za II 6'
	pl. BI-IB-RU[	Za II 4'
EMŠU	"rennet"	
	EM-ŠŪ	C obv. 4
^{GIŠ} GANNUM	"pot stand"	
	^{GIŠ} GA-AN-NU-UM	Ha II 13
INA	"in, into"	
	I-NA	
	with Hittite	Ja rev. 10'(?) ; Ka rev. 19', 20' (2×); U obv. 4'
	with Sumerogram	C rev. 8', 10'; Fb II 7; Hb III 4'; Ja rev. 19'; Ka obv. 6], edge 5, 7; O I 7'; U rev. 3, 5(?); Za II 9'
	INA (AŠ)	
	with Sumerogram	E obv. 9'

<i>giš</i> INBU	“fruit” <i>giš</i> IN-BI	Ka edge 1
IŠTU	“from; by means of” IŠ-TU with Sumerogram with Akkadogram ? IŠTU (TA) with Sumerogram	C rev. 9'; Fa I 32'; Ha II 22, 28, 29, III 3, 12, 18; Ka rev. 21; O I 10', 11', 16', II 5'; U obv. 9' B I 12'; Ha II 14 Hc 4' L rev. 12
ITTI	“with” IT-TI	Ja rev. 17'; Ka obv. 5
DUGKUKUBU	“jug” DUGKU-KU-UB DUGKU-KU-UB <i>walḫi</i> DUGKU-KU-UB GEŠTIN DUGKU-KU-UB MÊ	Fa I 12'; Ha II 9 Fa I 12' Ha III 16; Hc 10'(!); Ka rev. 48, 63, edge 2 Fa I 11'
(MÊ	see <i>watar</i>)	
MELQÊTUM	“contents; materials” ME-EL-QÊ-TUM	Ka rev. 59
LÚMUTU	“husband; spouse” LÚMU-TI-ŠU LÚMU-DI-ŠU LÚMU-ZA-ŠU	Ka obv. 21 Ka rev. 25 Ha II 35; Ka obv. 5, 19[, 20
(DUG)NAMMA(N)DU	“measuring cup” NAM-MA-AN-DU NAM-MA-TUM	Zb obv. 8' Za II 15'
PĀNU	“face; front; PA-NI – adv. – “before”	Hb III 10'; Hd 10'; Ka edge 3; Za II 6'
QATAMMA	“likewise” QA-TAM-MA	B IV 10', 11'; E rev. 10'; Ja rev. 8', 9', 19'; Ka obv. 16, 50; L rev. 10; Q 11', 12'

<i>QATI</i>	“is finished”	B IV 19'; D rev. 13'; Ka rev. 60; Na rev. 3'
<i>(QĀTU</i>	see <i>kiššar-</i>)	
<i>ŠIHRU</i>	“small” pl. <i>ŠI-IH-R[U-TI]</i>	B I 5'
<i>ŠA</i>	“of”	B IV 14', 15'; Fa IV 1, 8; Fc obv. 10', 16', 17'; Ha II 12, 40; Ka rev. 5, 6, 7, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17; L rev. 6; Q 15'; U obv. 11'
<i>ŠAPAL</i>	“below” <i>ANA ŠA-PAL</i>	Ka rev. 51, 52
<i>ŠĀTU</i>	a measure <i>ŠA-A-TI</i>	Ka rev. 62
<i>ŠIPTU</i>	“incantation” stat.const. <i>ŠI-PÁT</i>	B I 10'; G II 1, 7; P III 7'
<i>-ŠU</i>	“N-times” 2- <i>ŠÚ</i> 3- <i>ŠU</i> 5- <i>ŠU</i>	L rev. 18 B I 23' G II 6
<i>-ŠU</i>	3.sg.enclitic poss.prn. - <i>ŠU</i>	C obv. 13, 15, rev. 11', 12' (2×); Fa IV 13 (2×); Ha II 26 (2×), 30, 35; Hb II 11; Ka obv. 5 (2×), 10, 12, 20, 21, rev. 25, 28, 51, 52, 55, edge 5, 7; Kb obv. 6'; Q 6', 12'
	- <i>ŠÚ</i>	Fa I 11'; He 4'; L rev. 29; O I 7'
	- <i>ZU</i>	C obv. 20; E rev. 1'; Fb II 9; O I 3'
<i>ŠUMU</i>	“name” nom./acc.sg. <i>ŠUM-an</i>	Fc rev. 1'
<i>ŠUMMATU</i>	“pigeon” pl. <i>ŠUM-MA-[TE^{MEŠ}]</i>	Ya II 3'
<i>TUDITTU</i>	“breast ornament” pl. <i>TU-DI-IT-TI^{U^LA}</i>	Fa I 29'

(ṬUPPU	see <i>tuppi-</i>)	
U	“and”	C obv. 8, rev. 23'; Ha III 10
UL	“not” Ū-UL	A obv. 14; B IV 8', 19'; C obv. 14; E rev. 15'; Fa IV 26; Fb II 13; G II 7; Ha III 35; Ja rev. 3'; Ka obv. 2, 5, 17, 19, 23, 41, rev. 1, 34, 36, 46; Kb rev. 12; S 4'; U rev. 6(?), 10, 12
	UL	L rev. 10
UMMA	introductory particle of direct speech ŪM(?)·MA	M rev. 1'
UNŪTU	“implement” sg. Ū-NU-UT pl. Ū-NU-TE ^(M) ēš Ū-NU-TE(?) ^[y¹] ^Λ	Ka obv. 25; Kb obv. 8' Ka rev. 28 (2×) Ja rev. 17'
UPNU	“handful (a measure)” UP-NI	Ka rev. 47, 52, 62, edge 1
UŠKÊN	“bow down” prs.3.sg. UŠ-KE-EN UŠ-GE-EN prs.3.pl. UŠ-KE-EN-NU	Ha II 34, III 2, 25, 26], 33, 36, 40, 47 Ka rev. 59 Ha II 37; Hd 11'
GISZERTUM (= GIS ¹ SIRDU)	“olive(-tree)” GISZÊ-ER-TUM	Ha II 8], 22, 29, III 12; Hc 9', 11'; Ka obv. 12, rev. 33; R I 14'

DIVINE NAMES

^d Anzili	nom.sg. ^d An-zi-li-iš	Fa I 26', IV 19; Fb III 3']
^d Apritta	ŠA ^d Ap-ri-it-ta	Ka rev. 6
DINGIR.GAL		L rev. 31

DINGIR.GI ₆	“Black Deity”	Ka rev. 12
DINGIR.LU ^{MEŠ}	“male deities”	Hd 9’
	dat./loc.pl.	
	DINGIR.LU ^{MEŠ} - <i>na-aš</i>	Hb III 15’
	[DINGIR.]LU ^{MEŠ} <i>šimāššiyaš</i>	Ha III 21
	DINGIR.LU ^{MEŠ} URU ^{LIM}	Ha III 22
DINGIR.MAH	Ḫannaḫanna	
	sg. DINGIR.MAH	M obv. 2’
	dat./loc.sg.	
	DINGIR.MAH-(<i>ni</i>)	A obv. 14
DINGIR.MAH ^{MEŠ/ḪI.A}	Mother-goddesses	
	DINGIR.MAH ^{ḪI.A}	Ka obv. 54
	DINGIR.MAH ^{MEŠ}	L rev. 11(?); T II 7’
	<i>tueggaš</i> DINGIR.MAH ^{MEŠ}	Ka obv. 44
	DINGIR.MAH ^{ḪI.A} <i>tueggaš</i>	Ka obv. 47, 51[(?)
	dat./loc.pl.	
	DINGIR.MAH ^{MEŠ} - <i>aš</i>	Za II 7’
	DINGIR.MAH ^{MEŠ} - <i>aš</i>	Zb obv. 3’
^d <i>Gulšeš</i>	Fate-deities	
	dat./loc.pl. ^d <i>Gul-ša-aš</i>	Zb obv. 3’
^d <i>Ḫalmašuit</i>	divinized throne-dais(?)	
	nom.sg.	
	^d <i>Ḫal-ma-aš-šu-iz-za(-)</i>	A obv. 10
^d <i>Ḫatepinu</i>	nom.sg. [^d <i>Ḫa-a-te-pi-(nu-)</i> ša	A obv. 11
^d <i>Ḫebat</i>	^d <i>Ḫé-bat</i>	Ka obv. 54, rev. 47, 57, edge 3 (2×)
^d <i>Ḫuzzīya</i>	nom.sg.	
	[^d <i>Ḫ</i>]u-uz ¹ -zi-ya-ša	A obv. 13
^d <i>Immarni</i>	dat./loc.sg. ^d <i>Im-mar-ni-i</i>	C rev. 8’
^d <i>IŠTAR</i>		Ya II 3’
	acc.sg. ^d <i>IŠTAR-an</i>	L rev. 31
^d <i>LAMÁ</i>	tutelary deity	A obv. 11
^d <i>Teliḫpinu</i>	nom.sg. ^d <i>Te-li-pi-nu-uš</i>	A obv. 12
^d <i>U</i>	Storm-god	
	nom.sg. ^d <i>U-aš</i>	L rev. 9

^d UTU	Sun(-god) dat./loc.sg. ^d UTU- <i>i</i>	A obv. 9; Fc rev. 2'; Ha III 9 Fa IV 15
<i>taknaš</i> ^d UTU	Sun-goddess of the Earth nom. <i>taknaš</i> ^d UTU- <i>uš</i> gen. [<i>taknaš</i> ^d UTU]- <i>wa-aš</i> dat./loc. <i>taknaš</i> ^d UTU- <i>i</i>	C rev. 5'; D rev. 8' C rev. 19' C rev. 20', 21']
^d Zukki	nom.sg. ^d Zu-uk-ki-iš	Fa IV 16; Fb III 3'
^d XXX	Moon(-god) nom.sg. ^d XXX- <i>aš</i>	Ha III 9 L rev. 2

PERSONAL NAMES

^t Pit-te-i	L rev. 1
[^t Tu ₄ -n]a-wi-ya	B IV 20'

PLACE NAMES

ĤUR.SAG A-ma-a-na	Ya II 3'
URU A-ri-in-na	A obv. 9
URU Ĥa-ak-mi-iš-ša	A obv. 13
URU Ĥa-a-ar-pi-ša	A obv. 10
URU KÙ.BABBAR-aš	O II 3'
URU Ka-ra-aḫ-na	A obv. 11
URU Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-na	Ka obv. 38, rev. 46
URU Li-iḫ-ša	D obv. 1], rev. 12'
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